

**PAGE
MISSING
IN
ORIGINAL**

Poet of the Latter Days: Andrew Marvell

Two Volumes

Volume II

Margarita Catherine Stocker

D.Phil.

The University of York

Department of English & Related Literature

March 1981

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume II

<u>Chapter VIII: Revelation & Renovation, II: The Revelatory Eclogue in 'Appleton House'</u>	I
i. Problems of Activism	I
ii. The Revelatory Eclogue in <u>Appleton House</u>	25
iii. The Active Astraea & the Quietist Poet	39
<u>Appendix IV: A Fairfacian Revelatory Eclogue</u>	58
<u>Appendix V: Renovation for the Desolator: The Mower's Song</u>	61
 <u>Chapter IX: A Revelation for the Revolution: Maritime Images of the <u>Eschaton</u> in poems of the 1650s</u>	 66
i. Sea Power & the Fortunate Isles	67
ii. Taking Ship for the New Jerusalem	80
iii. New Worlds Won at Sea: <u>Blake</u>	87
iv. A Revelation for the Revolution: <u>Bermudas</u>	III
 <u>Chapter X: A Revelation Revealed</u>	 I34
i. Private Revelations of Power	I34
ii. Revelation of a Royal Tragedy	I43
 Conclusion	 I79
 Notes	 I8I
Bibliography	239

CHAPTER VIII

REVELATION & RENOVATION

II: The Revelatory Eclogue in 'Appleton House'

This chapter is concerned with the operation of Revelatory Eclogue in Upon Appleton House; and, especially, with its relationship to the eschatological trope of "activism" or 'zeal'. In this manner this chapter amplifies the analysis of the eschatological theme in Appleton House, as expounded in Chapter V. iii.

The chapter consists of three sections. The first of these provides a detailed account of seventeenth-century anxieties about "activism", and a summary of the way in which these anxieties are reflected in those Marvellian poems discussed hitherto. In addition, Marvell's elegy on Hastings is treated here, contributing to this contextual discussion for Appleton House. As I intend to show, the Revelatory Eclogue in the latter poem is intimately related to the notion of "activism". Therefore the second section explicates the role of Maria Fairfax as the Reformation Astraea in Appleton House; and in the third section this role is related to the concept of "activism" as it is reflected in this poem's Revelatory Eclogue. In this manner this chapter completes my discussion both of this poem and of Marvell's use of the Virgilian model.

i. Problems of Activism.

As I indicated in Chapter II, eschatology required of the Saint that he interpret God's will in history and then take action to forward that will¹. In Chapter III I suggested that one of the problems thrown up by this requirement was that of timeliness - that at some times it was necessary to acquiesce in, or to "wait upon" God's will: to be quietist. Whereas at other times rigorous activism - described as 'zeal' - was required. Which of these was appropriate at any one time could be

established only by interpretation, the initial requirement of this process. The clue to activism was its correspondence with the time appointed for it by God Himself - at all other times activism was precipitate. The Saint had to be in step with God's design. Ancillary to this problem of "timeliness" was that of accuracy: activism had to serve the correct end; since misdirected activism obstructed God's purposes as effectively as apathy. The necessity for action, its appropriateness, its timeliness, and its aims, could only be ascertained by 'interpretation': interpretation, that is, of scriptural prophecies, of God's 'promptings' within oneself, and of historical events². Evidently, if one's interpretation was at fault, one's consequent activism would also be faulty; indeed, at every stage of this process the possibility of error was present. Such faultiness, however, could only be the responsibility of the Saint himself: for it was understood that God always provided sufficient guidance for interpretation. Thus it was imperative not only that the Saint should act, but also that he should act strictly as guided.

This procedure, and its many problems, are demonstrated topically and revealingly by the Army's Putney Debates of 1647. These Debates were intended to formulate the current policy of the Army, deciding its actions in the political arena; and referred especially to the tricky political situation then obtaining. The major question addressed in the Debates was: if, as believed, God has shown the Army to be His instrument³, then what does He require of it now that the initial victory has been gained? The arguments pertaining to this question reveal the difficulties of interpretation—activism, as they affected topical political problems. And two fundamental assumptions are clearly displayed: the first, that each individual had inescapable responsibilities towards the eschaton; and, secondly, that

Puritanism ... trained (men) to think of the struggle with Satan and his allies as an extension and duplicate of their internal

spiritual conflicts, and also as a difficult and continuous war ... permanent warfare was the central myth of Puritan radicalism⁴.

This attitude is well demonstrated in Marvell's Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure, in which the Resolved Soul is the armoured Puritan warrior. The same "spiritual" warfare is described by Marvell in The Death of O.C.:

He first put armes into Religions hand,
And tim'rous Conscience unto Courage man'd:
The Souldier taught that inward Mail to wear,
And fearing God how they Should nothing fear.
Those Strokes he said will pierce through all below
Where those that strike from Heaven fetch their Blow.
(179-184)

The Civil War in particular had been regarded as a spiritual war against Satan himself: for one fought Antichrist with both sword and heart.

Similarly, as we have seen, Cromwell is urged at the exit of the Horatian Ode to maintain the Holy War which is against 'spirits' as well as men.

The animadversions of the Putney Debates were intended to establish in which manner God wished the Holy War to be continued; and how the New Jerusalem promised in Revelation was to be built in England. The resolutions of this debate were understood to be urgently required, if the Army was to avert political disaster. Thus Captain Bishop expressed both the aims, and the contentious mood of the Debates:

You have met this day to see if God would show you any way wherein you might jointly preserve the Kingdom from its destruction, which you all apprehend to be at the door. God is pleased not to come in to you⁵.

By the latter remark Bishop means that they have not managed to agree amongst themselves upon a concerted policy: such amity comes from God's guidance, and the latter - as several debaters remark - appears to have been withheld from them. Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe concludes that such guidance has been withheld because the Army has departed from God's purposes: and it is imperative that all activism be in step with God.

I shall desire that those who are that way

[moved] will take the present opportunity to [pray for his guidance]... Yet [I am troubled] when I do consider how much ground there is to conceive that there hath been a withdrawing of the presence of God from us that have met in this place. ... It hath been our trouble night and day, that God hath not been with us as formerly, as... men that were sent from God in an extraordinary manner to us [have told us]... told us of our wanderings from God, and... that God would be with us no longer than we were with him... If we have not the will of God in these counsels, God may be found among some other counsels.⁶

The Army of Saints has to be in step with God: the political point being that if the Army ceases to be His obedient instrument, 'other counsels' will supersede it as the political arbiter of the nation. The devotional necessity to enact God's will for the eschaton is also an immediate political necessity: activism directly relates to the problems of power for these debaters.

To regain its correspondence with God's purposes, the Army must - says Goffe - interpret Revelation for guidance.

it appears to me very clearly from that which God hath set down in his word in the Book of the Revelations - which is that word that we are bid and commanded to study and to look into, being the word which God sent by his angel to John, to declare as things shortly to be done. [Rev.i.2]⁷

To this scriptural consultation it is necessary also to add an examination of their own motives, which may be interposing between them and God's true will; here the second mode of guidance - prayer - supervenes upon interpretation.

If we would continue to be instruments in his [God's] hand, let us seriously set ourselves before the Lord, and seek to him and wait upon him for conviction of spirits... [also] we should be wary how we set forth anything against his people, and ... draw us up to a serious consideration of the weightiness of the work that lies before us, and seriously to set ourselves to seek the Lord [in public prayer]... It is an ordinance that God hath blessed to this end.⁸

Only prayer is proper to the 'weightiness' of political action for the eschaton. Goffe is urging that the Army radicals should not be ignored - for God may be with them: 'we should be wary how we set forth anything against his people.'

To these considerations - interpretation and prayer - Ireton (Cromwell's son-in-law) adds the third requirement for proper activism: attention to the "inner promptings" of the Spirit of God within each Saint.

In the time of our straits and difficulties, I think we none of us... walked so closely with God... as not to be led too much with considerations of danger and difficulty, and from that consideration to waive some things, and perhaps to do some things that otherwise I should not have thought fit to have done.

Every one hath a spirit within him - especially [he] who has that communion indeed with that Spirit that is the only searcher of hearts - that can best search out and discover to him the errors of his own ways and of the workings of his own heart.⁹

This godly intuition, the 'Spirit' within men, monitors the motives of activism as well as guiding it. Both this faculty and the rewards of prayer are means whereby one may overcome the problems of activism: waywardness, reluctance, and error all require this process of guidance and correction.

Another psychological problem of the interpretation-activism process is diagnosed by Cromwell: who, while trusting that 'God will manifest to us... the thing that he would have us prosecute', warns that 'we are very apt, all of us, to call that faith, that perhaps may be but carnal imagination, and carnal reasonings.'¹⁰ By this he means that sometimes men - like the radical Agitators, that is - mistake for God's will their own inclinations: their 'carnal reasonings'. This was yet another difficulty of the activist; another of his internal difficulties. As such it is amplified by another debater;

Had we given ear to the inspiring word of Christ, and had [we] not given ourselves to the false prophet within us, certainly God would have kindled that light [of guidance] within us, and [we] should have gone [on] and submitted to his will, and should not have been troubled or harassed, as we are, with troubles and amazements, but must have gone with God as he hath allotted to us... let us but search our own spirits with patience, and look by the light of God within us, and we shall find that we have submitted the Spirit of God unto the candle of reason, whereas reason should have been subservient unto the Spirit of God. We are troubled when our own reasons tell us that this is the way... we should desire no way, but wait which way God will lead us... we should choose no way, but if the Spirit of God lead us, we should be ready to submit to the will of God.¹¹

According to this notion, human "reason" can interpose between the Saint and the Spirit that intimates God's will; this is 'the false prophet within us', the internal agent of Antichrist. So the Holy War was always understood, as both internal and external. In order to 'go with God' in one's actions, 'reason' has to be 'subservient' to the promptings of the Spirit; the Saint must adjust his responses to this pattern.

This is one of the primary psychological requirements of the eschaton. It involves a suppression of self-will, of pride: 'we should choose no way, but if the Spirit of God lead us, we should be ready to submit to the will of God.'¹² Activism requires no less than a surrender of self-determination. The bases of this thought are central to Puritanism, and we have already seen them at work in The Coronet. There Marvell recognized his 'carnal reasonings' of 'Fame and Interest', the true motives of his poetic devotions. Moreover, he recognized that the necessary alternative was a submission; just as, here, this debater recommends that 'we... lay

down all at the feet of God',¹² so in The Coronet the poet offers the garland to crown Christ's 'feet'. For both the debater and the poet, the same principle is at stake: to expunge 'the false prophet', the 'Serpent', from his place within the heart. For Marvell there the principle is, equally, an eschatological one: his tainted poetic "action" is offered to Christ in the role of Judge - in majestate. In the Final Image of that poem it is God, not the poet, who activates the required desolatio to purge his sin; whereby Marvell indicates that only Christ is qualified for that particular form of "activism".

This same principle of submission extends to those occasions when man's own inclinations are countered by God's revealed will: in political matters, even, pride must be suppressed in favour of 'acquiescence'. In the Debates this point is made by Ireton: defending the political status quo, he yet acknowledges the principle of acquiescence:

[only] when I see the hand of God destroying King, and Lords,
and Commons too, [or] any foundation of human constitution, when
I see God hath done it, I shall, I hope, comfortably acquiesce in it.¹³

The point Ireton emphasizes is that one must be sure that it is God who is the author of a particular earth-shaking change - he will acquiesce only 'when I see God hath done it'. His political aim here is to imply that he does not recognize the radicals' proposals as "godly" - does not believe that they reflect God's intentions for the English nation. The religious problem bound up in this political stance is yet another difficulty within the activism complex: that the Saint must be able to recognize God's will for what it really is, and then to 'acquiesce' in it - to be a quietist when it is appropriate. As for Ireton here, the problem is to know when quietism is appropriate: when, although a course is anathema to oneself, to submit to its authority as God's will. The same problem, as we saw in Chapter VI, faced Marvell the royalist as he meditated upon Cromwell's triumph in the Ode; and there he successfully submitted to the will of God in history; the Ode being his enactment of the principle of 'acquiescence', or quietism.

The third extension of the principle of 'submission' - following upon 'reason' and 'acquiescence' - was that of 'patience'. This is a term ubiquitous in Puritan thought, since it referred to one's submission to God's design.¹⁴ For God's design in time proceeded at His pace and by His direction; He alone decided the moments at which it would move forward.¹⁵ As Marvell put it, 'all things.... happen in their best and proper time'. As I indicated in an earlier chapter,¹⁶ it was understood from Scripture that men could not know the 'seasons' of God's will - His temporal punctuation, as it were. Therefore one had to submit not only to His will, but also to His timing: 'we should not take upon us a peremptorie censure of times and dispensations, presuming to condemne those things,

which we cannot understand.'¹⁷ The same principle was vital to one's desires for the realization of the eschaton, for the date of the Last Day was unknown to men. When Marvell noted in the First Anniversary that 'a thick Cloud about that Morning lyes', he was acknowledging a cardinal principle of orthodox eschatological belief; for, as the preachers constantly reiterated, 'ye know not what hour your Lord doth come... for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh' (Matthew xxiv. 42-44), and 'the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night' (I Thess. v. 1-3). The secrecy of the Last Day's date was simply the most significant instance of God's sole knowledge of 'the times' appropriate to His will; a fact acknowledged by Marvell in the First Anniversary, as we saw.

Such a submission was a reflex of 'patience', because it was necessary to await the Coming patiently: the time being unknown, many were tempted to an impatience that could prompt a precipitate activism.¹⁸ Thus Milton, complaining that God had not afforded him any active role in His glory, came to realize that his complaint was mere pride: the proper attitude was in fact one of patience, recognizing that 'They also serve who only stand and wait.'¹⁹ Similarly, a divine enjoins patience for the Last Day because 'God best knows the fittest season for every event; we shall have it when its time is come, and before that, 'twoud not be beautifull'²⁰ - that is, it would not occupy its proper place in the great design. This same thought prompts Marvell to rebuke men's precipitate activism in the RT, their 'officiousness': 'the World will not go the faster for our driving'.

Nor is this point lost upon the debaters at Putney. Goffe reminds the company that all activism must be 'seasonable', in time with God.

If we have lost the opportunity of appearing against God's enemies, let us take heed, when we be sensible of God's displeasure, that we do not run before he bids us go a second time. ... I think we have sinned in that we did not show our courage and faithfulness to God. Let us not now in a kind of heat run up and say, "We will go now", because it may be there is a better opportunity that God will give us... Let us consider whether this be the best juncture of time for us to press on the work of God... for it may be it is the will of God that we should wait upon him therein, to see what will be the issue of a business that is now transacted; and if we²¹ can trust God in this strait we shall see him straight before us.

Using an experience of the Old Israel as a model for the New Israelites in the search for the Latter-Day 'Canaan' - the New Jerusalem - Goffe diagnoses the two major forms of error. Either men act too precipitately - 'in a kind of heat' - when God requires rather that they be patient; or, conversely, they act too dilatorily, losing 'the opportunity of appearing

against God's enemies'. All action must be taken in its correct 'season', when actions are not appropriate 'we should wait upon' God.²² This is the alternation of activism and quietism, of 'zeal' and 'patience'; and it is to be punctuated by the proper seasons - 'the best juncture of time for us to press on the work of God'.

The problem here adumbrated by Goffe is that of matching one's activism to those occasions timed by God. It was one of the more intractable problems of chiliastic activism, but it had to be resolved if the Saint were to fulfil his obligation to act in the service of the eschaton. And the attitude appropriate to this problem was 'patience', to 'wait upon' guidance, as Goffe enjoins. His colleague, Joshua Sprigge, seconds him: 'if we could have but patience to wait upon [God], we should see he would bring us out of this labyrinth wherein we are.'²³

It was indeed a 'labyrinth'. Not only did one have to apply the brake of 'patience' to one's activism, but the kind of activism upon which one might embark was also in question. The wrong kind of actions were worse than none at all. Thus a debater warns Cromwell that 'You are convinced God will have you to act on. But only consider how you shall act, and [take] those [ways] that will secure you and the whole kingdom'.²⁴ In the same terms Marvell had justified Cromwell in the Ode, confirming that he 'did both act and know'; and condemned, in the First Anniversary, the Fifth Monarchists, whose activism was of the wrong type. In that poem Cromwell has submitted to the proper guides, studying the 'Prophecies' and then acting to fulfil them; thereby he created a renovatio in Church and State. That renovation is the objective of activism. At times, indeed, the activism of desolation is required to achieve it (as in the case of Marvell's exhortations to Cromwell and to Christina). Similarly, one of the debaters noted that 'it is a scruple among the Saints, how far they should use the sword; yet God hath made use of them in that work',²⁵ in the Civil War: that 'season' was appropriate to military activism, and the European theatre prompts a similar militancy in Ingelo, the Ode, and the First Anniversary. Activism refers to both desolation and renovation, each in season; and so Marvell requires - in his vision of England's ultimate renovation, a 'seasonable People' to receive it (First Anniversary, 133). For renovation and desolation, out of season, were disastrous: so Cromwell, contemplating a radical proposal, opined that it would 'produce ... an absolute desolation... to the nation'²⁶; desolation, that is, of a quite different kind from that desolatio which forwards the New Jerusalem.²⁷

If some species of activism were disastrous, some forms of quietism were equally so. There was a significant difference between quietism - patience and acquiescence that 'waited upon' God - and mere negligence.

If rashness was the wrong kind of activism, so apathy was not to be mistaken for quietism: it actually hindered the eschaton, for the consummation of history was something for which men must actively strive.

This vital point was reiterated again and again, not only in the Putney Debates but also in the Commons. All the Saints must,

as faithfull subjects of his Kingdom, doe all they can, notwithstanding all oppositions, to make Christ's Kingdom flourish through the World: and remember Meroz his curse upon those "that come not to the help of Christ against the Mighty" [Judges v.23]. Christ can carry on his work without us: but if we doe not our part, "deliverance shall come some other way... but wee shall be destroyed" [Esther iv.14]; the curse will be upon every [one] of us, that set not in every one in his way, and as God calls₂₈ him to it, to set up Christ in the midst of his enemies.

As here, it was axiomatic that all Saints must act, and for this divine - as for Goffe - that was especially true in time of Civil War. 'Now the word doth hold out in the Revelation, that in this [Latter-Day] work of Jesus Christ he shall have a company of Saints to follow him, such as are chosen and called and faithful': this is especially true when, as in the Civil War, 'there must be great alterations of states'²⁹: revolutions that desolate Antichrist. The time of the Latter-Day wars was that appropriate to militant activism; and the Civil War demanded that commitment no less than any other such war. 'If we have the honour to be God's instruments, we must do the office of instruments and be active... we must go along with Providence.'³⁰

Failure to act when called was speedily punished. As Goffe remarked,

There are two ways that God doth take upon those that walk obstinately against him: if they... continue obstinate, he breaks them in pieces with a rod of iron; if they be his people and wander from him, he takes that glory from them.³¹

Accordingly, Marvell in the First Anniversary had bemoaned the 'Regal Sloth' - the negligence - of European princes; portraying Cromwell as the agent of God's retribution for this apathetic attitude. Later in that poem he regretted the negligence at home, in the Elect Nation itself, where men viewed the progress of time 'all unconcern'd, or unprepar'd': thereby delaying the eschaton.

This was the primary fault of negligence. For, as the divine insists above, Christ will complete the historical design whether the Saints aid him or not; and Marvell makes the same point in the RT, where he says that Christ will 'wear out all opposition' in an inevitable manner. Apathy merely delayed the process: but such delay was nevertheless criminal, as he noted in that passage from the First Anniversary. Moreover, the divine points out that dilatory Saints 'shall be destroyed': they will lose their

title to inherit the Kingdom. As Marvell noted in the First Anniversary, their crime is to create a deadlock in the temporal process: 'th'Ill delaying, what th'Elected hastes'. The injunction of 2 Peter iii.12 was absolute, that the Saints must be 'hasting unto the coming of the day of God'³²; that 'haste' was the pressure of activism.

Indeed, the injunction of 2 Peter referred especially to the desolatio of the End: he urges that 'hasting' because 'all ... things shall be dissolved' (vs. 11). Activism thus refers to the realization of the desolatio; just as Marvell envisages both Cromwell and Christina "desolating" the Whore. The same activist principle was attached to the realisation of renovatio. Hence a divine exhorted the Army to promote the final renovation:

If this be the new earth and the great interest to be followed ... how should this carry on those whom it concerns, who are called of God unto it, to the accomplishment of this great work, to help forwards³³ this great work and design of God in and by you?

Those who forwarded the renovatio would inherit the Kingdom, and for this reason the 'last coming' was the goal of the faithful³⁴: 'the Church ... stretcheth and rayseth up her desires to that'³⁵. Activism was thus the agent of renovation.

This, then, was why negligence was so culpable.

Tis a sin, that is after a more especiall manner appropriated to wicked men. Psal. 10. 4, 5 ... "Thy judgements are farre above out of his sight". Things that he never enquires after or regards, as if he were not at all concerned in them. Quae supra nos nihil ad nos. He looks no further than second causes, unto which he ascribes the successe or miscarriage of events; and doth not take notice of that divine Providence by whose influence they are³⁶ guided.

Negligence has two aspects, the ignorance of eschatological responsibility and the basic failure to enquire into Providence. Thus, when Marvell considered the contrast, in the First Anniversary, between Cromwell - that actor for renovatio - and other men, these are the two charges made against the negligent. First, the majority of men prove apathetic: 'as if they nothing car'd, / Look on, all unconcern'd, or unprepar'd'. Secondly, they fail to recognise the action of providence: the 'higher force' behind Cromwell remains 'undiscern'd among the tumult blind, / Who think those high Decrees by Man design'd'. Marvell's rebukes to the 'blind' and apathetic here are typical of the Puritan emphasis upon eschatological activism.

The posture proper to the Saint, if he were to respond to every call for his activism, was that of readiness³⁷. So in contrast to men who were 'unprepar'd', Marvell described the readiness of the active

Saint: in these Latter Days,

Well he therefore does, and well has guest,
Who in his Age has always forward prest:
And knowing not where Heavens choice may light,
Girds yet his Sword, and ready stands to fight.

This is the readiness required of the elect instruments of God.

Precisely because no-one can know the 'times', or 'where Heavens choice may light' - precisely because men can have no certainty in interpretation of God's will - one must 'guess' and be ready. The moralitas of uncertainty is readiness³⁸. This moralitas was derived from the scriptures themselves, and then connected to men's inability to know the 'times':

'Therefore be ye ... ready; for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh' (Matthew xxiv. 44)³⁹. A similar link supports Marvell's indication of human uncertainty, for in the lines immediately preceding he has referred to the "unrevealed" time of the Last Day (141-2) and the limits to what 'we determine can' (143).

At this point it is helpful to summarize the activism complex, before moving on to related matter. First, activism was absolutely required of the Saints: its aims being the promotion of God's purposes, in the pursuit of renovatio. Secondly, activism was informed by interpretation of the traditional guides to God's will: Revelation, events ('revealed will'), and the guidance of the Spirit within. Thirdly, activism had to accord with the times appointed for action; and it was necessary that it be of an appropriate kind. At all other times patience was required, to 'wait upon God's signs; similarly, all manifestations of His will demanded complete 'acquiescence'. This quietism was to be distinguished from negligence.

From this prescription a number of knotty problems emerged, as we have seen. The first of these problems related to the fundamental phase itself - interpretation. Was one's interpretation of God's will correct, or had it been vitiated by self-interest or error? If so, one's consequent activism would prove equally erroneous. In addition, one could never know 'the times' - never be certain of which phase of the 'Design' one participated in - and so could not be certain of whether one's actions were 'timely': it was necessary that one be 'in step with God'. Similarly, one's activism might

become either tardy or precipitate, both of which were unacceptable; and where did quietism end and negligence begin? When should one be active, and when quietist: and how often was one influenced in the choice by merely personal, 'carnal reasonings'? All these problems were, as we have seen, recognized by the the Saints; and the Putney Debates manifest their ramifications in the political arena.

As I have indicated, the activism complex reveals itself in Marvell's poems - and later I will show how others are affected by it. Moreover, in Chapter III, I suggested the contrast between the activist bias of the First Anniversary and the relative quietism of the RT; which is merely one example of the activism / quietism alternation as it affected Marvell. As I shall show, the problems of alternation - when, why and how one espoused either activism or quietism, and the legitimacy of that choice - these problems manifest themselves in several of Marvell's poems.

Such problems were particularly acute for Marvell and his contemporaries because of the Civil War. Thus, for example, a divine expounding God's Providence in 1649 emphasized the necessity for 'interpretation': explaining that this necessity was the more urgent because these were the Latter Days - the time of wars and thus of bewildering change. Of this the Civil War was a domestic example:

The common providence of God ... may afford excellent matter for contemplation, much more that speciall providence of his in the guidance of humane affairs ... But especially in his dispensations towards these latter ages, wherein there have been many new, unusuall emergencies, such as our fore-fathers have not known.

How many strange observable passages, may a considering man pick out, amongst the affaires of these few last years? How strangely hath the whole course of things both in Church and State, been turned about, beyond all mens imaginations! ... What strange ebbs and flows of hope have we known? ... So that the wisest men have been often put to stand at a gaze, not knowing what to judge of the issue of things; and ... there has been something equivalent to this, in other Nations: The whole Christian world being generally full of strange commotions. Now we may certainly conclude, that all these unusuall turns and changes of things are not for nothing. There is some great designe to be accomplished by them. 'Tis our duty with diligence to observe the passages, and with patience to attend the issue.

In the face of these 'strange commotions' of the Latter Days the interpretation—activism complex was both a burden and a comfort. It imposed upon one the responsibility to 'observe' the passages' of Providence therein, to make sense of the chaos; but, in so doing, it also reassured one that there was sense to be made - that 'There is some great design'. We have seen this combination in action in Marvell's Horatian Ode: where Providence is discovered and acknowledged, and a consolation formed in it for defeat in the Civil War. Similarly, in Appleton House the eschatological theme organised into a progressive pattern both the sin and devastation of the War and its messy aftermath: viewing them as stages in England's progress towards the eschaton. The same combination of analysis and comfort, issuing from the directive to comprehend Providence, will be observed within other poems in Chapter IX.

As I have said, one other aspect of the activism complex requires explication here. This is the factor of 'timeliness': that each action has its proper moment in the design of history, and that activity must be commensurate with God's (not men's) apprehension of time. These factors have been illustrated already in this section, but to them must be added what, in the previous chapter, I have expounded as the "interval" in Time: the problems of placing oneself and one's activities within the great Design⁴¹, when the reference-points in that Design are known only to God himself. The basic problem may be compared to an individual's ignorance of the time of his own death: he may never fully account for the contingencies of his death simply because he does not know when it may occur, and this is a teleological problem comparable to the eschatological one. This problem of the "interval" is also present at the level of activism, since (as I have indicated) activity must always be commensurate with God's "punctuation" of the temporal design. Between the various moments at which activism is appropriate there are intervals in which quietism 'waits upon' those moments. Because the boundaries of those intervals are not known, it is possible for quietism to become an inadvertent negligence, impinging upon the 'times' of activism; and for activism to become precipitate, invading the "interval" proper to quietism.

The concept upon which these problems hinged - the difference between human and divine 'time' - was something treated by Marvell more than once. The essential problem is one of the relationship between an individual and 'the times': and, through the latter, to universal time. In the First Anniversary, as I indicated in the explication of that poem, Cromwell's

ability to 'forward' time by his activism rested upon his ability to reconcile human and divine time. 'Learning a musique in the Region clear, / To tune this lower to that higher Sphere'. By means of this 'higher' form of time, he can measure the progress of the state: 'And still new stopps to various Time apply'd' - he is master of the "intervals" of Time because he comprehends the divine time. This is because he understands how to 'sacred Prophecies consult within': a conflation of scriptural (prophetic) guidance and that of the spirit 'within'. Therefore Cromwell collapses the intervals of time, packing the moments of activism into a quick succession: 'Tis he the force of scatter'd Time contracts, / And in one year the work of Ages acts'.

It is significant that, here, divine time should be understood as 'musical' - and its reconciliation with human time as a 'tuning'. (Naturally, this has some reference to the ancient notion of the heavenly 'music of the spheres', here appropriated to an eschatological context.). Similarly, in Musicks Empire, Marvell portrayed world history in terms of the development of music: 'First was the world as one great Cymbal made' (1), and slowly progressed towards 'harmonious Colonies' of 'numbers new' (11-12). Here social organisation is understood musically - the 'Organs City' (8) representing civilization - in a manner which links it to the harmony of the higher region; just as, in the First Anniversary, the renovated state is portrayed as musically constructed upon the 'higher' model (49-68). In both poems a musical "hamonization" provides an image for the reconcilment of divine and human times.

The difference between these temporal modes was portrayed on its personal level in Marvell's Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings (1649); a poem of conventional compliment which becomes a vehicle for Marvell's own preoccupations⁴². Hastings' untimely death is one of those 'observable passages' requiring an investigation of its meaning; and it provokes in Marvell a meditation upon the relationship between the 'timing' of an individual's death and the divine apprehension of time.

Alas, his Vertues did his Death presage:
Needs must he die, that doth out-run his Age.
The Phlegmatick and Slowe prolongs his day,
And on Times Wheel sticks like a Remora.
What man is he, that hath not Heaven beguil'd,
And is not thence mistaken for a Childe ?
While those of growth more sudden, and more bold,
Are hurried hence, as if already old.
For, there above, they number not as here,
But weigh to Man the Geometrick Yeer.

(9-18)

Heaven's 'yeer' is not man's : 'They number not as here'. The 'Geometrick Yeer' - for which one scholar has supplied an extensive Renaissance background ⁴³ - has in fact the essential explanation that it is universal time: the latter, as a contemporary poet described it, is an 'All-circling point. All centring sphere. / The world's one, round, Aeternal year'⁴⁴. The difference between this 'Geometrick (circular) Yeer' and human time is rendered by the notion that human life is hereby a heavenly 'yeer'; just as, in the Death of O.C., 'All the year was Cromwell's day' (142) because he had achieved the divine timing of Revelation, in which a 'Day' denoted a year of human time. Here the relationship between divine and human temporalities appears "out of joint" (to human eyes, at least) because Hastings was 'hurried hence, as if already old'. However, Marvell explains that in terms of heavenly computation Hastings looked 'old' because of his 'more sudden, and more bold' nature. This is an orthodox Puritan idea, when - as here - related to the concept of 'growth' (15). This 'growth' is spiritual, the process of "conversion": and each man has his peculiar tempo for 'growth'.

consider the growth itself; there may be great difference thereof in several men ... every man hath a measure appointed to which he must grow; but men are brought to this fulness several ways, which makes a difference in their growth.

...
Some die sooner, and therefore God fits them for heaven sooner ... It is with several Christians as with several planets: the moon goes her course in a month, the Sun in a year, the rest in many years, so as often they that ⁴⁵ live shortest grow fastest.

This is the case with Hastings, whose 'growth [was] more sudden, and more bold'; Marvell's implication being that this was (as the divine indicates above) the reason for his early death. Untimely in terms of human computation, that death was appropriately timed by the divine measure.

Moreover, the 'sudden and bold' nature of Hastings refers also to his activist cast. 'Needs must he die, that doth out-run his Age'. Here, as in other Marvellian poems, the current 'Age' is characterised as slothful: replete with men who are 'Phlegmatick and Slowe' - negligent. In Illustrissimo Viro, as well as in the First Anniversary, Marvell had reviled those whose laxity was 'delaying' time: 'vivit at in praesens maxima pars hominum' (36). Similarly, here such men 'prolong their day!,' slowing time's progress by sticking 'on Times Wheel'. The active Saint - like Cromwell - lives not 'in praesens' but in 'the future time'; it is in this sense that Hastings 'doth out-run his Age'. The same quality characterises the activist in the First Anniversary, 'who in his Age has always forward prest'. The implication of Marvell's remarks on Hastings is, therefore, that Hastings has used up his ration of activism: the 'Age' is not to be 'out-run' to the extent that it disrupts the divine timing

of events.

Yet heaven does not represent the terminus of his activism. 'So he, not banisht hence, but there confin'd, / There better recreates his active minde' (31-32). Heaven is where the 'active minde' finds another mode of eschatological activity: it 're-creates', participates in renovatio. Hastings' activism is "renovated" into its heavenly counterpart; just as there is a heavenly form of time, so there is a heavenly form of activism. This (at first sight) odd concept is in fact confirmed by a commentator on Revelation. Expounding Rev. v. 10, he explains that the Saints in heaven 'expect' the Last Day's renovatio no less anxiously than their colleagues on earth:

this kingdom of Christ on earth to come is a far more glorious condition for the saints than what their souls have now in heaven; for these here [in heaven] overlook that condition which yet they were to run through, and their thoughts fly to comfort themselves with this, 46
"we shall reign on earth"

In this manner the Saints in heaven - of which Hastings is one - share the anticipation of renovatio. The passage on which this divine is commenting refers to the 'new song' which the Saints sing before the throne of God (v.9): 'new' because concerned with renovatio. Because he is one of these Saints, Hastings in this sense also 're-creates': the recreation of song is also the renovation therein, and to this compound of recreation (or heavenly pastimes) and renovatio the pun in 'recreate' refers. Within the poem Marvell specifies the recreations of heaven, informing the reader that there 'The armed Angels hold their Carouzels' (34).

In this manner Hastings' Heaven is portrayed as a divine counterpart to the quietist "intervals" that punctuate earthly activism. For, as I have indicated, the individual's internal form of renovatio was his spiritual transformation by conversion, into the 'new creature'. Only as such could he embark upon activism, and in this sense any preparation for activism was a renovatio. Hereby a quietist "interval" - preparing for the next summons - was a 'recreation', in the senses both of refreshment and of re-creation. The basic principle of this concatenation was quoted by Marvell from the work of his friend, John Howe. First, God has suited all men's natures to his demands upon them:

It hath been the care and designment of the divine wisdom so as to order the way of dispensation towards the several sorts of creatures, as not only not, ordinarily, to impose upon them what they could not be patient of, but so as that their powers and faculties might be put upon the exercises whereof they were capable, and to provide that neither their passive capacity should be overcharged, nor their active be unemployed.

(Defence of John Howe, 185-6)

Then, having fitted men for their employments, God seconds their abilities for action with - at the moments appropriate for action - an influence that prompts them to that action. Marvell himself explains this:

common experience shews faculties may be sometimes unapt for action, and may be supposed always so, if every moment when they act they be not rendered apt by a superadded influence, which may habilitate them for action, without determining them to this or that.

(187)

This argument, addressed against the notion of predetermination, asserts rather the 'superadded influence' which the debaters called "spiritual promptings": the action of the spirit within. This is especially relevant, as we have seen, to the dynamics of activism. The "intervals" are when men are 'unapt for action'.

So in this poem, Hastings' 'active' nature is seen as 'bold' and 'sudden' - 'apt for action'. Since it did not require 'recreation' - intervals from action - on earth, it receives such recreation in Heaven itself. This idea is an ingenious element in Marvell's eulogy: implying that Hastings was so replete with the 'Virtues' of activism (a pun on Virtus), that in order to give him a quietist interval it was necessary that he be 'hurried hence' to Heaven. Just as his life was crammed with a quantity of activity proper only to longevity, so his "interval" is both enforced and equally enormous. For Heaven is the longest "interval" of all. There, as the divine indicated above, the dead Saints 'wait upon' the End, when they too will enter the "new heavens and new earth". In Hastings this is the equivalent, in heavenly time, of the intervals wherein men on earth 'wait upon' God's punctuations of the temporal Design.

There, as Marvell remarks, Hastings is destined to taste the 'Tree of Life' (20-24): which, according to Revelation xxi. 2, stands in the 'new heavens and new earth', and is therefore a symbol of the renovatio. It, too, 're-creates', since it is 'for the healing of the nations'. Since that Tree cannot be tasted until the final renovatio is achieved, Marvell does not say that Hastings will taste it in heaven: but rather that, like all the Saints in Heaven, he is assured of tasting it. 'Lest He become like Them', he cannot taste it. In the interval before that renovatio, then, Hastings attends to his own renovation, and in Heaven 'better recreates his active minde' than he could have done on earth. To enforce this conception of Heaven as Hastings' "interval" in divine time, Marvell emphasises that he is 'not banisht hence, but there confin'd' (31); like an individual in an earthly quietist "interval", he is not permanently 'banisht' to quietism, but may issue into activism.

Similarly, on another level this statement refers to the fact that the Saints now in Heaven will return to earth after its renovation: they too 'shall reign on earth', as the divine stipulated. For this reason Hastings is not 'banisht hence, but there confin'd', the interval in Heaven will close at the End.

By these means Hastings is elevated into the divine scheme of time. Marvell develops his initial point - that Hastings 'out-runs' current human time - by viewing Hastings' life as a period of activism succeeded by an interval of quietism in Heaven. Hereby he is distinguished from ordinary men, whose alternations of activism and quietism are comprehended in human time. One might describe Hastings' equivalent alternation as "meta-activism" and "meta-quietism"; and this extravagance in Marvell's encomium is its true force. Its ingenuity is lost if one does not recognise the eschatological ideas of which it is constructed; however, Marvell's audience for the poem - Hastings' family - were well qualified to recognise it, since Marvell portrays them as Saints to a man: their names are all recorded in 'th' Eternal Book' of the Elect (37 f.), those who will be saved at the Last Day.

The link between terrene and divine "intervals" of recreation is enforced by Marvell's characterization of Hastings' tenure in Heaven. Hastings is like an 'Ally' to Heaven:

Yet as some Prince, that, for State-Jealousie,
Secures his neerest and most lov'd Ally;
His Thought with richest Triumphs entertains,
And in the choicest Pleasures charms his Pains:
So he, not banisht hence, but there confin'd,
There better recreates his active minde.

(27 - 32)

Heaven is indeed recreating and restorative, like an earthly "interval": it with 'the choicest Pleasures charms his Pains!'. Moreover, like any time-bound "interval", it provides intimations of action - 'richest Triumphs', of the kind with which military victories were celebrated in Roman times. Here both the militant Saint and the activism / quietism complex are delicately recalled: and ^{provide an} original twist on the consolatory motif whereby elegies are accustomed to envisage the dead man's happiness in Heaven. This elegy pursues its terrene / divine correspondence by comparing Heaven's pastimes to the current wars:

The armed Angels hold their Carouzels;
And underneath, he views the Turnaments
Of all these Sublunary Elements.

(33-36)

Hastings is observing the contest, on earth, which will establish that renovatio which he and the other Saints await. For the times of 'war' - the Latter Days - were its prelude. Therefore Marvell glances at the Civil War, a current example: opining that this period was appropriate to Hastings' departure. 'Therefore the Democratick Stars did rise, /

And all that worth from hence did Ostracize.' (25-26). Marvell implies that, when the parliamentarians are in the ascendent, Hastings' 'Vertues did his Death presage', because the times themselves are tainted. It is in this particular fashion that the Times are 'Slowe'.

We may confirm this implication by comparing another poem, May - written in the following year. As I noted in Chapter III, there Marvell indicates that the Parliamentary victory has caused 'the Wheel of Empire' to 'whirl back'; meaning that it causes Time to return upon itself, interrupting what should be its forward movement. The same image was, as I noted, used in the First Anniversary and the RT. So here, the 'Slowe' creatures who set the pace of the 'Age' 'Stick' 'on Time's Wheel'. The 'wheel' is Marvell's characteristic image for the tempo of the eschatological process, and here - as in May - it is used to condemn the Parliamentarians. They are "obstructors", whereas Hastings was a forwarder, of Time's wheel: because he was an activist.

The last, extravagant, touch to this portrait of time-consuming activity occurs in the final line; where Marvell (going a little "over the top") recalls the classical tag that 'Art indeed is Long, but Life is Short'. The joke in this (apparently) flippant line is actually the culmination of the activist motif in this poem. For this last line is line 60 - the number of years in a normal span: 'Art is Long' because, in this poem, it has lasted the span, whereas Hastings' 'Life is Short'. Marvell hereby mocks the length of his own elegy: but also indicates by this means the activist "fullness" imitated by that length. Accordingly, since Hastings died at the age of nineteen, it was in line 19 that Marvell remarked the 'Measure' or tempo of his life: 'Had he but at this measure still increast'. The whole structure of Marvell's ingenious but fanciful memorial can be traced back to that simple thought, that 'we ... / With early Tears must mourn his early Fate' (7-8). Hastings is, indeed, merely a pretext for Marvell's play upon the gulf between human and divine times.

The motif of 'recreation' used in this poem is recalled by Marvell many years later, in his Last Instructions. There he muses that 'so too Rubens, with affairs of State, / His labring Pencil oft would recreate' (119-120). In this case there is no religious burden intended, but it is evident that here, as in Hastings, the 'recreating' is a matter of interposing - Rubens uses the alternation of painting and diplomatic activity in order to refresh his 'Pencil': 'affairs of State' provide intervals of recovery amid his true occupation. Naturally this is a joke, but it is also an accurate one à propos Rubens; and it reflects the manner in which Marvell used the word 'recreate'. It was a word suitable to the character of the "interval".

As a final example of this nature of the quietist "interval" - as refreshment and renovation - we may recall Milton's Sonnet "To Lawrence" (1655). There Milton celebrated restorative pastimes of withdrawal, whereby 'time will run / on smother' (5-6); and again in his Sonnet "To Cyriack", he tells his friend:

To measure life, learn thou betimes, and know
Toward solid good what leads the nearest way;
For other things mild heaven a time ordains,
And disapproves that care, though wise in show,
That with superfluous burden loads the day,
And when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains.
(9-14).

Milton here stresses that 'measure' - mentioned by Marvell above - whereby life is punctuated. At some times action is indeed 'the nearest way' to good; at others, the quietist intervals of recreation, 'God sends a cheerful hour'. It is necessary, according to this view, to recognise which stance is appropriate at any given moment. (In other words, Cyriack is overdoing things.) A similar thought ends "To Lawrence", and in this case Milton makes the danger - that one will confuse the appropriate times - quite evident. Having declared the 'delights' of recreation, he concludes:

He who of those delights can judge, and spare
To interpose them oft, is not unwise.
(13-14)

The word 'spare' here is ambiguous, and critics disagree as to Milton's meaning⁴⁷; he may mean that one should "refrain from" these pastimes (in which case, what of the rest of the Sonnet?), or he may intend that one should "spare time for" these 'delights'. In fact, correctly interpreted, the ambiguity is intentional. At some times - at the "intervals" in activism - the quietist "withdrawal" is appropriate, and at others it is not. Milton's ambiguous statement imitates the difficulty of 'judging' when such intervals should be "interposed" - and that is precisely his point. The ambiguity is in the nature of a caution; but it does not repudiate the value of the "interval", as the rest of the Sonnet has portrayed it. For Milton, as for Marvell, such 'interpositions' in the course of time had a value precisely as interpositions: they were part of the punctuation of activism, not a permanent retreat from it.

In this light it is pertinent to consider Marvell's constant use of the phrases, 'mean while' or 'in the meane time', and variations thereof. These phrases recur repeatedly in his prose works: the Growth of Popery, in particular, evinces a high frequency of their use⁴⁸. And they recur at significant moments in the poems too. Marvell's fondness for these phrases is due to their denotation of an "interval", especially of an eschatological "interval"; that which remains before the fulfilment of a prophetic event.

An example from the RT is typical. One of many occurrences, this one appears as Marvell rebukes Parker for the latter's "disrespect" towards

the Last Day. Some of the Nonconformists, he says, make
 just Appeals to appear at the dreadful Tribunal. In the
 mean time, 'tis not for you to be both the Enemy and
 their Judg.

(89).

Here the phrase denotes that interval of time remaining before 'that
 supreme Judge and Judicature' (89) actually appear: the interval, that is,
 between the present and the Last Day. Such a use of the phrase was not
 uncommon. The divine Richard Sibbes, for instance, having said that the
 Saints anticipate the Last Day, characterizes the interval that must
 elapse before its arrival by enjoining 'patience' 'In the meane time'⁴⁹.
 Marvell similarly enjoins patience 'In the meantime' to those who attempt
 to precipitate the Last Day (RT, 15). As I have indicated earlier in
 this section, 'patience' was the appropriate attitude as one 'waited upon'
 moments of fulfilment, of activism; and such intervals of patience are
 "spaces" to which the phrase 'in the meantime' is appropriate. The phrase
 denotes the expectation of an event, a terminal point for a current phase;
 the 'meane time' being that yet to elapse before the terminus is reached.
 Accordingly, the phrase has a peculiar appropriateness to the interval
 before the End, the Last Day.

Milton also uses it in this manner; having recorded that 'revealed
 Truth' will be complete only at the Last Day, he argues that 'In the
 meanwhile' men should be free to investigate it⁵⁰. Similarly, in the
 course of the Putney Debates Colonel Goffe reminds his colleagues that
 'God will bring forth a New Heaven and a New Earth. In the meantime your
 work^{is} to 'restrain' all who try to prevent that renovatio⁵¹. This
 ubiquitous usage of the phrases by chiliasts reflects the accuracy with
 which these phrases conveyed the idea of the "interval".

The phrases could refer to both levels of the "interval" notion: the
 major "interval" between the present and the eschaton, or the quietist
 "intervals" that alternated with activism in the life of the Saint.
 The occurrence of the latter in one of Marvell's poems will be discussed
 later; a usage reflecting the major "interval" is to be
 found in Appleton House itself. Here, Marvell notes that Maria's
 family 'make their Destiny their Choice'. This destiny, as I have shown,
 refers to the universal End as its expectation dictates the individual
 life: the End which, at the close of the poem, is imminent. In the time
 following this intimation of the family 'Destiny', Marvell extends the
 same moralitas to the landscape: 'Mean time ye Fields', he says, must
 imitate Maria's virtues. If the familial destiny refers to the End, so
 does that of the landscape - for Nature herself will be dissolved at the
 Last Day. Both Nature and the Fairfaxes attend upon the End: 'in the
 mean time' they await its arrival, and occupy themselves appropriately.
 Just how appropriately, I shall be demonstrating later in this Chapter.

Two other examples indicate another, corresponding level of the phrase's function. This is its application to the telos, the end-stopped character of individual lives which corresponds to the universal eschaton. This individual terminus is equally hospitable to the phrase. Thus, in Little T.C., Marvell envisages the little girl grown up into an adult beauty: he wishes that he might 'in time compound! with her innocence, while it yet remains. The period before the death of innocence is designated by the phrase 'mean time'.

Mean time, whilst every verdant thing
It self does at thy Beauty charm,
Reform the errours of the Spring.
(25-27)

This is the transitory phase of innocence; the phrase, 'mean time' stresses its impermanence, and is accordingly given a prominent position at the beginning of both the line and the stanza. It demarcates this interval of refreshment and renovatio, when the Spring may be 'reformed' by T.C.. Spring is itself, of course, a season redolent of renovatio. Years later, in Last Instructions, the phrase denotes the approach of the physical terminus, Death. There the doomed hero, Douglas, 'entertains, the while, his time too short / With birding at the Dutch!' (663-666). The phrase may be shortened here, but it still denotes its characteristic "interval", with emphasis upon the terminal point.

I have insisted upon this point, because, in at least two of Marvell's poems, its incidence is crucial to a recognition of the quietist "interval" as well as of the major "interval" before the End. One of these poems, Appleton House, is the subject of the subsequent sections of this chapter. the other, The Garden, will be treated elsewhere. On the subject of the activism complex - of which the "interval" is a constituent - two important points remain to complete this context for Appleton House.

First, it is evident from my account that Marvell understood the requirement for activism, and that he also recognised the patterns of the "interval". Moreover, he was subject to seasons of 'patience' and activism: as I have shown, the RT and the First Anniversary respectively evince these variations. Just as, in the latter poem, he stated his vocation as a poet of the eschaton, so of the RT he said that 'I am (if I may say it with reverence) drawn in, I hope by a good Providence, to intermeddle in a noble and high argument'⁵². This manner of stating his interest reflects the idea that providence "prompted" one's activities in the Holy War. Both the RT and the First Anniversary were active for the eschaton, even though (paradoxically) the radical activism of the prose tract was aimed partly at the injunction to be 'patient'.

Equally, the problems relevant to this activism complex did not leave

Marvell untouched either. As he had said, one had to 'guess' and to 'prepare', and these were not simple matters. Moreover, as the First Anniversary made clear, he was aware in 1654 that he had not yet achieved the status of the poetic activist - the 'graver accents' of epic. For he had a personal weakness, from this point of view at least: his obsession with self-protection. He himself said that 'I am naturally ... inclined to keep my thoughts private'⁵³; and this militated against his own predilection for writing, as he recognised when he observed that 'not to Write at all is much the safer course of life'⁵⁴. This privacy - and the "private" problematic that it produced - is not the stuff of which bold epic statement is made; it distanced Marvell from the 'vast Design' of eschatological epic which Milton had achieved, and to which he pays tribute in his poem on Paradise Lost. Perhaps it does not matter, in the end, that Marvell confined himself to lyric and prosaic expressions of his chiliasm. The point is rather that Marvell's nature inclined to quietism. This 'natural' proclivity was of a kind which would interpose between him and the true 'interpretation' of God's Will, and militate against directives to activism. It was, as we have seen, recognised that such psychological barriers could complicate the already difficult procedure of interpretation. Therefore Marvell, in addition to the general problems of the activism complex, was also likely to fall foul of his own peculiar problem - the inclination to quietism.

The self-protective impulse is manifest, as I have indicated, throughout Marvell's works. At this point I should like to link it with something simpler, which is equally ubiquitous and better recognised. Many critics have noted Marvell's liking for what they call 'withdrawal' or 'retreat'. By this they mean, for instance, his espousal of the hortus conclusus in The Garden; it is best instanced, I would suggest, by his use of the word 'shade'. We may recall that in the Ode he opposed the poet's 'shadowy' abode to that of Cromwell in public life; in The Garden he prefers to society the 'narrow-verged shade' of this leafy retreat; in Little T.C. he desires to 'be laid, / Where I may see thy Glories from some Shade' (24). 'Shade' is, as 'umbra', the classical image for the vita otiosa; the abode of poets who write rather than "do", and the traditional image of withdrawal⁵⁵. For most critics what they see as Marvell's desire for 'withdrawal' tends to represent some variation upon the argument between 'action and contemplation', whether in secular or in Neoplatonic terms⁵⁶. I would suggest, however, that this critical description is misdirected. The tension in Marvell's poetry between 'action' and 'withdrawal' is not to be understood in either a 'hermetic' or a

secularized manner: it is, in fact, a reflex of the eschatological complex of activism and quietism. It is, therefore, an aspect of his eschatological theme, as I shall show.

Finally, Marvell's model of the activist poet - what he himself wished to be, according to the First Anniversary - was Virgil, the source of his Revelatory Eclogues. As I explained in the previous chapter, the Reformation Astraea is an activist for renovatio : and in this manner the Revelatory Eclogue in Ingelo portrayed Christina as an eschatological actor.

Similarly, on two occasions when Marvell asserted his 'muse', Virgil provided the model for that assertion. In Last Instructions, Marvell echoes (as has long been recognised) Aeneid ix. 446-7 in his promise to confer immortal fame upon Douglas through his poetry (693-6). But Marvell's conception of the poet was that of "poetic activist": in the worst conditions,

Then is the Poets time, 'tis then he drawes,
And single fights forsaken Vertues cause.
He, when the Wheel of Empire, whirleth back,
And though the Worlds disjointed Axel crack,
Sings still of ancient Rights and better Times,
Seeks wretched good, arraigns successful Crimes.
(Tom May, 65-70).

The vision of the poet as an active champion reveals that Marvell thought that he could write the poetry of activism - just as, later, he wrote prose active in these same causes. The finest statement of his militant eschatological vocation is, of course, that in the First Anniversary; Moreover, as I have indicated in the previous chapter, Marvell's source for this statement was Virgil's Eclogue IV. Similarly, Marvell's call, in the Ode, for activism in the European theatre ('What may not then our Isle presume / While Victory his crest does plume!') was, I suggested, modelled upon Virgil's Aeneid VI. In sum, Marvell's sense of the activist role of the poet is intimately involved with his admiration for Virgil, whom he tends to echo in this relation.

Such a relationship between Marvell and the classical poet must have seemed to him particularly appropriate: since, as I have indicated, Virgil was the pre-eminent classical prophet. Moreover, his prophetic role - in the Aeneid - was to intimate the destiny of Rome under Augustus; equally, Marvell was engaged with the destiny of the Elect Nation, and if Cromwell's regime had held fast he might have written a similar epic for his own Augustus - as the prophetic assertion of 'graver accents' in the First Anniversary appears to promise. Therefore it was condign that Marvell, anxious to realize his chiliastic role in poetry, should have looked to Virgil as his model: most especially in the format of the

Revelatory Eclogue.

ii. The Revelatory Eclogue in 'Appleton House'

Appleton House, like Ingelo, contains a figure of the Reformation Astraea : in this case, it is represented by Maria Fairfax, the heroine of the latter part of the poem. This section is concerned with her function in this respect, and Marvell's importation thereby of Revelatory Eclogue into this poem.

Before proceeding any further, it is necessary to emphasize one important point. The whole poem, as I indicated in Chapter V, is characterized by a witty lightness of touch which analysis necessarily violates. Although Maria is the Reformation Astraea in terms of this Nunappleton world, she is of course nothing of the kind in real terms. In this poem, as indeed in its Virgilian model, things lesser simply figure things greater;⁵⁷ there is a reverently joco-serious distance between^{the}/eschatological play of Nunappleton and the drama of history. What Marvell's model allowed was that he could transform a poem of compliment into a witty image of his major preoccupations: Maria was a parochial figure upon which to superimpose the Astraeian character that he later accorded to a woman - Christina - whose station in life was more suitable to its serious import. In the case of Maria's Astraeian character, as in that of its narrative generally, the poem is an eschatological diversion signifying matters which are, in another context, of great magnitude. It is an example of Marvell's joco-serious mode at work.

In Chapter V I discussed the eschatological theme in Appleton House: its formulation within the metaphor of history as theatre, its rehearsals of the eschatological features of Harvest, Deluge and Coming, as revealed by the national events of the Civil War and its aftermath. In this section and the next, I want to show how this eschatological theme interacts with a Revelatory Eclogue in the poem; for in this interaction the poem's problematic consists.

Like Ingelo, Appleton House assimilates this formula to eschatological history, and its reflection of national events draws the Revelatory Eclogue into ^{the} contemporary scene. This political resonance is proper not only to an eschatological vision of contemporary events, but also to the nature of Pastoral in the Virgilian tradition. Virgil's Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid had traditionally provided classical models for the connexion of Pastoral with political themes; and the Fourth Eclogue in particular involved a vision of the Augustan Pax superseding Civil War, within its prophecy of the Golden Age. Thus Appleton House, a pastoral "microcosm", suitably combines the Revelatory Eclogue with intimations of the Civil War and its aftermath.

Virgil's Eclogue touched the national situation of Rome through its addressee, the consul Pollio; whom Virgil here regarded as the eminence grise presiding over the dawning Golden Age. Similarly, Appleton House is addressed 'to my Lord Fairfax', the general who might have made England a 'flourishing' nation. In both poems the pastoral mode is expansive, reflecting their national reference: 'Si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae' (Ecl. IV. 3). Both poems contain their prophetic import within a decorum of "microcosm".

In Virgil's Eclogue Pollio's virtues flower in his child, under whom the Golden Age will gradually be realized. In Marvell's poem, Fairfax's Puritan virtues are reflected in his daughter Maria - who becomes the focus of the latter part of Appleton House. As I remarked earlier, stanzas LXXXII - VIII describe her "coming", which in the 'lesser world' of Appleton House prefigures the universal Coming announced in the Final Image. This is the eschatological burden of Maria's arrival in the poem. Its condign significance in the Revelatory Eclogue of Appleton House is that Maria, like Virgil's Astraea, is a harbinger of the Coming.

Like Christina, Maria Fairfax is a Reformation Astraea: in this case that figure's conflation of Astraea and the golden child is even more appropriate, since Maria is still a child. She is, moreover, the progeny of a contemporary figure who in power and "virtue" was very close to Virgil's Pollio. The national timing is also appropriate: Maria, like the golden child, appears after the 'harvest' of Civil War and imposes a 'more decent order tame' upon the landscape. Like Virgil, Marvell places his Revelatory Eclogue in the context of a recent Civil War, and postulates a child as a figure for potential renovatio. I noted a similarly significant use of the Augustan moment in the "Roman Parallel" of Marvell's Horatian Ode.

That the Reformation Astraea will eventually preside over a 'peace' which supervenes upon Civil War was a traditional idea. An example of the tradition is Spenser's:

Thencforth eternal union shall be made
 Between the nations different afore,
 And sacred Peace shall lovingly perswade
 The warlike minds, to learne her goodly lore,
 And civile Armes to exercise no more;
 Then shall a royal virgin raine...

(FQ. III.iii.49)

This 'royal virgin', the Reformation Astraea, is in Appleton House more closely related to her origins, as the child of a man of 'consular' rank; who is indeed connected with the national cataclysm of Civil War, but is himself a figure of "order".

Therefore, in his very first reference to Maria, Marvell introduces her as 'the Virgin Nymph' (XXXVIII), the fundamental character of Astraea the 'Virgo' (Ecl.IV.6). Like Christina, she resists all the wiles of Venus:

Blest Nymph! that couldst so soon prevent
 Those Trains by Youth against thee meant:
 Tears (watry Shot that pierce the Mind;)
 And Sighs (Loves Cannon charg'd with Wind;)
True Praise (That breaks through all defence;)
 And feigned complying Innocence;
 But knowing where this Ambush lay,
 She scap'd the safe, but roughest Way.

(LXXX)

This resistance to Amour is part of the character of the virgin goddess, whose divinity is recalled in Marvell's apostrophe, 'Blest Nymph!': which, like his introductory 'Virgin Nymph', is italicised for emphasis. The heavenly provenance of Maria-Astraea is further emphasized by Marvell's remark that she is 'in Heaven try'd' (LXXXVI). Here it is linked to a reflection on Maria's piety - 'the safe, but roughest Way' recalling the Biblical path to Heaven; and piety too, as we have seen, is an Astraeian characteristic.

The details of Marvell's portrayal of Maria all reflect her Astraeian character, especially her major attribute of 'Justice'. Maria possesses 'judicious Eyes' (LXXXII), and 'Supplies beyond her Sex the Line' (LXXXIII); and as an Astraeian law-giver, Maria is 'the Law/Of all her Sex, her Ages Awe' (LXXXII). Also like Astraea, she bestows justice upon her environment; herself 'Pure, Sweet, Streight, and Fair' (LXXXVII), 'She streightness on the Woods bestows' (LXXXVII). By virtue of these attributes of 'streightness' or Justice 'all Virgins she precedes', because Astraea is the foremost virgin.

Similarly, Maria evinces the association of Astraea-Virgo with Spring and flowers: 'the Virgin Nymph.../Seems with the Flow'rs a Flow'r to be' (XXXVIII). And she has the Astraeian inspiritive effect, for ''Tis She that to these Gardens gave/ That wondrous Beauty which they have' (LXXXVII). This is the inspiration bestowed upon Nature by Astraea: and, as we shall

see, it becomes a major feature of the poem.

Virgo, the constellatory form assumed by Astraea when she left the earth, bore into the Elizabethan Astraea-compound her attribute of wisdom. This same attribute entered the Reformation Astraea through the golden child, who - as I have remarked - was not only innately wise but also acquired even greater wisdom (Ecl.IV.26-7). Hence Marvell emphasizes Maria's wisdom and precocity; associating with it her piety, since this association was characteristic of the Reformation Astraea:

She counts her Beauty to converse
In all the Languages as hers;
Nor yet in those her self employes
But for the Wisdome, not the Noyse;
Nor yet that Wisdome would affect,
But as 'tis Heavens Dialect.
(LXXXIX).

Marvell has chosen to italicize Astraea's special attribute, and to relate it specifically to her piety. When he celebrates Maria's linguistic facility, Marvell's role as her tutor emerges in his boast: but this too is appropriate to the Astraean figure, as Virgo was considered skilled in all aspects of speech.⁵⁸

The recollection of the teacher-pupil relationship here is one of those intimacies that maintain the decorum of the poem: this Reformation Astraea is always the real child also, carrying an eschatological disguise. The same intimacy obtains in Marvell's Virgilian model, where too compliment assumes prophecy, and yet recollects itself in such notes as the child's relationship with his mother.

Like the golden child and the Reformation Astraea, Maria issues from a distinguished line. Thus Marvell notes the standing of her parents, giving it an almost mystical value:

the after Age
Shall hither come in Pilgrimage,
These sacred Places to adore,
By Vere and Fairfax trod before
(V)

Themselves almost 'sacred' to later ages, Maria's parents are also the heirs of the 'great Race' of Fairfaxes; a lineage suited to the Astraean character, as well as - I indicated earlier - eschatologically significant. From this 'great Race' Marvell recalls especially 'The blooming Virgin Thwaites,/ Fair beyond Measure' (XII); and William Fairfax, who - 'First from a Judge, then Souldier bred' (XXIX) - exemplifies a family tradition of public service. The military element here ('Souldier') is the attribute of Thomas, Maria's father: the judicial element ('Judge') implies her inheritance of her own 'judicious' character as Astraea. Similarly, as

Isabella Thwaites is an Eve-like character - seduced by 'Suttle Nuns' - so Maria is elevated to her typological counterpart; Maria's name, and the fact that 'all Virgins she precedes', give her a status similar to that of the 'Blessed Virgin' Mary herself.⁵⁹ This provides another Astraeon resonance, which has nothing to do with Mariolatry (despised by Marvell as "Popish").⁶⁰ Rather it pertains to the fact that Astraea was traditionally connected with the Virgin Mary⁶¹ - simply because Mary bore the Messiah, while Astraea heralded the golden child. (Through this Astraeon figure the cult of Elizabeth I had assimilated into Protestant form the vestiges of Mariolatry.⁶²) These Astraeon resonances collude with Marvell's characterization of the 'race' of Fairfaxes as instruments of the progress of the eschaton, both in England and in Europe: as in Ingelo, the Reformation Astraea subserves this eschatological context.

The evocation of an Astraeon lineage is developed by Marvell's statement that Maria - like Pollio's child - has benefited by her parents' example.

Thus 'tis to have been from the first
 In a Domestick Heaven nurst,
 Under the Discipline severe
 Of Fairfax, and the starry Vere;
 Where not one object can come nigh
 But pure, and spotless as the Eye;
 And Goodness doth itself intail
 On Females...

(LXXXI)

This intimate glance at the "nursery", expressed in a hieratic manner, yet can indicate the transmission of inherited virtues and the nurture of which the golden child is the recipient. This 'Domestick Heaven' is the terrestrial counterpart of Maria-Astraea's divine provenance, 'in Heaven try'd'.

A similar significance is attached to Maria's mother, the 'starry Vere'. It has been noted that this may be a reference to the Vere coat of arms,⁶³ though this is merely the literal level of the image: in fact, it provides an Astraeon motif. Astraea was, until her return to earth, embodied in the 'star' of Virgo; here, in the 'Domestick Heaven', her 'starry' mother denotes Astraea's provenance as a heavenly star. By this means it is intimated that Astraea has returned to earth in the form of Maria - translated from her place in the heavens to this 'Domestick' counterpart. Moreover, this nursery too is a habitation of 'Discipline' - an aspect of 'Justice'. Here, again, the Astraeon figure is contained within the intimacy of Nunappleton: the household is at once 'Domestick' and 'Heavenly'.

As one would expect in a Revelatory Eclogue, this account of Maria's provenance culminates in a prophecy of the 'universal good' which Astraea-Maria brings.

Hence She with Graces more divine
 Supplies beyond her Sex the Line;

And, like a sprig of Mistletoe,
 On the Fairfacian Oak does grow;
 Whence, for some universal good,
 The Priest shall cut the sacred Bud;
 While her glad Parents most rejoice,
 And make their Destiny their Choice.
 (LXXXIII)

On the familial level, this is a prediction of Maria's marriage. It echoes, in a chaster Christian form, Virgil's remark to the golden child that he may expect a goddess as his consort ('dea... dignata cubili est', 63); both poems look forward to the child's maturity. Here Maria is still Astraea, 'divine' and 'sacred', destined for 'universal good'. That this 'good' is eschatological in kind is evident from its context: her destiny, like her parents', requires that Puritan integration of necessity and 'choice' that is the nature of eschatological activism: the individual's assumption of a role in history. To this Maria's own Astraeon role - as harbinger and renovator - is related. Like Christina-Astraea, she is an activist for the 'universal good' of renovatio.

Thereby, as the Astraeon 'Justice', she brings 'decent Order tame' to the landscape. Marvell urges Nature to renovate itself by her inspiration:

Employ the means you have by Her,
 And in your kind your selves preferr;
 That, as all Virgins She preceds,
 So you all Woods, Streams, Gardens, Meads.
 (LXXXV)

Here the stimulation of the landscape - a characteristic effect of Astraea - is specifically related to Maria-Astraea's virginal pre-eminence.

As we have seen, the fortunate character of the Reformation Astraea (her 'universal good') comprehends not only her renovatio, but also her function as the herald of the Second Coming: which will bring the full and final renovation. Maria, I indicated, prefigures in her "Coming" that of Christ - which the Final Image proposed as imminent. In this fashion she performs the Astraeon function as the harbinger of the Coming.

As we have seen, the conditions appropriate to Astraea are those of 'Peace' - in Virgil, the Augustan Pax; the figure provided a compound of righteousness (or Justice) and Peace. Therefore, in Appleton House, Maria "comes" when peace has succeeded war. Her arrival denotes, accordingly, the end of harvest/Civil War: harvest usually occurs in August/~~Sept~~ember, the months denoted by Virgo, an aspect of Astraea.

The spirit of 'Peace' represented by Astraea was reflected in Milton's Nativity Ode, where Astraea or 'Peace' returns to earth as the harbinger of the Christ-child; in Marvell's poem the "coming" of Maria and her 'decent Order' is a prelude to the final Coming. Hence it is no accident that Marvell's description of Maria's advent is closely modelled on Milton's portrayal of 'Peace'.⁶⁴ (Marvell certainly knew the poem.⁶⁵) Milton recalls Virgil's Astraea:

She... came softly sliding
 Down through the turning sphere,
 His [Christ's] ready harbinger,
 With turtle wing the amorous clouds dividing...
 She strikes a universal peace through sea and land.
 (The Hymn, iii)

Here 'Peace' enacts the Astraeon descent to earth, as harbinger of Christ: she is Astraea in her aspect as the Pax Augusta, which predisposed the earth for Christ's First Advent, striking 'a universal peace'. Similarly, when Maria arrives upon the scene at Nunappleton, she is likened to the 'halcyon', emblem of Peace:

So when...
 The modest Halcyon comes in sight,
 Flying betwixt the Day and Night;
 And such a horror calm and dumb,
Admiring Nature does benum.
 ...
 Maria such, and so doth hush
 The World, and through the Ev'ning rush.
 (LXXXIV-VI)

Milton's Peace comes on 'turtle wing': Maria comes as a halcyon bird. Just as Peace-Astraea 'strikes a universal peace', so Maria-Astraea 'doth hush' /The World' into a 'horror [stillness] calm and dumb'.

This "stillness" is an Astraeon effect, an aspect of peace. As such it is elaborated by Milton:

The winds with wonder whist
 Smoothly the waters kissed,
 Whispering new joys to the mild ocean,
 Who now hath quite forgot to rave,
 While birds of calm sit brooding on the charmed wave.
 The stars with deep amaze
 Stood fixed in steadfast gaze...
 (The Hymn, V-VI)

At this point Milton's own halcyons ('birds of calm') appear, an emblem of the 'universal peace'. (They provide here a very special usage of their normal significance of 'peace'.⁶⁶) Just so is Maria a 'Halcyon', a Peace. Milton's images of "stillness" or transfixion find a similar analogue in Maria's "arresting" effect upon the landscape.

The gellying Stream compacts below,
 If it might fix her shadow so;
 The stupid Fishes hang, as plain
 As Flies in Chrystal overt'ane;
 And Men the silent Scene assist,
 Charm'd with the Saphir-winged Mist.
 (LXXXV)

The 'World' of Nunappleton is here literally "transfixed" by Maria's presence. Both poets express the 'wonder' of the Astraeon coming: Milton evokes the 'winds with wonder whist', while Marvell states that 'Men [are] ... Charm'd with the... Mist' - both portray an enchantment. In particular, both poets focus upon the stillness of water, Milton's 'charmed wave' echoed by Marvell's 'gellying Stream': in each case the arresting of water

provides the central image of transfixion. One may notice that both poets adopt a similar rhyme: Milton's 'whist/kissed' being matched by Marvell's 'assist/Mist'. Similarly, in both cases the word 'Charmed' is used to denote the major effect. Both of these passages are striving to render the Astraeon 'Peace'.

To this Miltonic 'Peace' Marvell adds two details which characterize a specifically Reformation Astraea. The first of these is intimated by the italicized word 'Scene': which maintains the theatrical metaphor of Appleton House, and thereby recalls its significance as the eschatological drama. This is the 'silent Scene' which conveys Astraea's "coming" as Peace, a scene in history's progressive play. Secondly, Marvell follows this stanza with that which portrays Maria as a portent of the End. 'No new-born Comet such a Train/ Draws through the Skie, nor Star new-slain' (LXXXVI). These comparisons include a 'Star'; and, as we saw, Astraea ceases to be the 'star' of Virgo when she returns to earth. This is the Astraeon burden of this reference to a 'Star new-slain'; and it is appropriate to its placing, at the very moment of Maria's "coming". From this point the Astraeon figure is fully developed: her divine provenance (LXXXVI), her renovation of the landscape (LXXXVII), her wisdom (LXXXIX), her trenchant chastity (LXXXX), her distinguished lineage (LXXXXI), her 'knowledge' and 'Virtue' (LXXXII), her 'universal' destiny (LXXXIII), her gift of "Justice" and inspiration (LXXXIV), her 'decent Order' (LXXXVI).

Apart from Marvell's introductory details in the passage above, the major difference between his passage and Milton's is a contextual one: and to this difference his two specifically eschatological details relate. For Milton is describing Peace as harbinger of the First Advent, although (as we have seen) he is careful to postpone the golden age to the time of the Second Coming; whereas Marvell's Peace-Astraea is the forerunner of the Second Coming which is announced in his Final Image. That is, while Milton is describing a past advent and anticipating a future renovatio, Marvell is concerned with a present for which that renovatio is imminent. Certainly Milton's Ode reflects chiliastic hopes, but its temporal reference to the Nativity means that he has to split the Virgilian model: leaving Astraea-Peace at the time of the First Advent, while postponing the golden age which she portends. In contrast, here and in Ingelo Marvell is closer to Lactantius in retaining the association of these two elements, within his Latter-Day context. By his portrayals of Astraea-Christina and Astraea-Maria he is able to preserve the integrity of the Virgilian model. Moreover, his version of the Astraeon "transfixion" of the world can - because it relates to the Second Coming - provide a foretaste of the

"arresting" of Time (and, with it, of the world) at the Last Day. Since the Last Day is - obviously - not yet arrived, it is useful for Marvell that the Astraeon transfixion produced by Maria may provide a "type" of that End.

The other major difference between these Marvellian and Miltonic passages is that of scale. Milton's Ode, celebrating the Nativity, is explicitly "universal" - and Peace-Astrea's coming is couched in terms appropriate to that scale. But Marvell's poem, like the Virgilian original, is sited in the 'lesser world' of pastoral 'silvas'. Therefore, while Milton celebrates the 'mild ocean', Marvell concentrates on the 'Stream [which] compacts': the decorum of his poem requires this reduction of scale - as well as the humorous diminuendo of 'the stupid Fishes', which are themselves reduced to 'Flies in Chrystal'. Such delicate adjustments of scale place Marvell's poem closer to the pastoral spirit of the Virgilian model, as is proper to the poet's particular purpose. For Maria is Astraea only in this pastoral microcosm, just as Pollio's son is the golden child only in Virgil's silvan landscape.

As the Reformation Astraea, Maria's inspiration must act upon both Nature and men. Therefore her arresting effect upon the natural world extends also to the human inhabitants of the estate: 'Men the silent Scene assist', and are as 'Charmed' as the landscape itself. This peace is the first act of renovatio: in Milton's poem, that renovation is effected by the golden child (Christ). 'Nature in awe to him/ Hath doffed her gaudy trim'(1): Nature is simpler and chaster because of His presence. Maria, as the Reformation Astraea, has the same effect - she 'streightens' the landscape: 'See how loose Nature, in respect/ To her, itself doth recollect' (LXXXIII). So reformed, Nature becomes "new", undergoing renovatio:

See how loose Nature, in respect
To her, itself doth recollect;
And every thing so whisht and fine,
Starts forth with to its Bonne Mine.
(LXXXIII)

Here Marvell echoes Milton's Ode (v), in describing the renovated landscape as 'whisht'. Since Astraea is the agent of renovatio, this transformation is Nature's response to Maria's appearance: and with it appear Nature's bounty and beauty - those concomitant effects of renovation in Virgil's Eclogue.

'Tis She that to these Gardens gave
That wondrous Beauty which they have;
She streightness on the Woods bestows;
To Her the Meadow sweetness owes;
Nothing could make the River be
So Chrystal-pure but only She;
She yet more Pure, Sweet, Streight, and Fair,
Then Gardens, Woods, Meads, Rivers are.
(LXXXVII)

This inspiritive ordering of the landscape by Maria is renovatory because it purifies while it beautifies: this 'wondrous Beauty' is also 'Chrystal-pure'. Almost every reference to Maria in these stanzas is italicized, and every sentence formulated in such a way as to derive all these renovatory effects from her: 'only She', as a Reformation Astraea, 'could make' the landscape thus.

This same purifying effect upon 'loose Nature' extends to the skies as well:

See how loose Nature, in respect
To her, it self doth recollect;...
The Sun himself, of Her aware,
Seems to descend with greater Care;
And lest She see him go to Bed;
In blushing Clouds conceales his Head.
(LXXXIII)

Maria's ability to abash even the sun by her "purity" recalls the similar effect of Milton's golden child; at whose appearance 'The sun himself withheld his wonted speed,/ And hid his head for shame' (vii). The two poems are especially close here: both emphasize that this is 'The Sun himself', and that he 'conceales his Head' - and Marvell's descent 'with greater Care' amplifies Milton's image of the Sun's unusual "slowness". More important, in both cases the sun is 'shamed', 'blushing' in face of the child's purity.

The eschatological image here, as throughout, colludes with the features of the Reformation Astraea. Maria has appeared at the sun's 'descen(t)' - as the world moves to the night of the Last Day. This is, of course, the moment appropriate to the Astraean "coming". Furthermore, Isaiah had prophesied that at the time of the Coming

The moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the Lord
of hosts shall reign in Mount Zion.
(xxiv.23; my italics)

The sun is similarly ashamed - 'blushing' - at Maria-Astraea's "coming", which announces the greater Coming of 'the Lord of hosts'.

Indeed, Marvell's several recollections of Isaiah in this poem (cf. Chapter V.iii) are themselves relevant to his Virgilian model: since Virgil's Eclogue had traditionally been compared by its Christian exegetes to the prophecies of Isaiah. Further, Isaiah was the Old Testament book of desolation and renovation: prophesying Israel's destructions and resuscitations. In these respects Marvell's recollections of Isaiah were appropriate to the Revelatory Eclogue in Appleton House.

The renovation of Nature by the golden child evokes in the earth a desire to make returns, and to pay tribute to the child (Ecl.IV.18ff.). Similarly, the estates at Nunappleton owe their tribute to Maria:

Therefore what first She on them spent,
They gratefully again present.

The Meadow Carpets where to tread;
 The Garden Flow'rs to Crown Her Head;
 And for a Glass the limpid Brook,
 Where She may all her Beautyes look;
 But, since She would not have them seen,
 The Wood about her draws a Skreen.

(LXXXVIII)

She inspired the landscape (LXXXVII), and here Nature displays her gratitude for that effect. Similarly, in Virgil's Eclogue the earth brings gifts to the golden child: 'At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu/errantes hederas passim cum baccare tellus...' (18-19). For Marvell's Reformation Astraea 'Admiring Nature' (LXXXIV) performs the same devotions. In both poems there is a reciprocal relationship, since Nature is only enabled to pay tribute to the golden child by means of the renovator's own gifts: 'What first She on them spent,/They gratefully again present.'

The ambience in which this "enchanted" process takes effect is that of the 'peace' provided by Maria-Astraea in stanza LXXXV. That peace, and its renovatio, can supervene only after the desolation of the landscape: here represented by the harvest and the Flood, the effects of Civil War. In Virgil's Eclogue the Astraeon (or Augustan) peace supervened upon the 'iron age' of the Roman Civil War; golden succeeding iron ages, renovation replacing desolation. This movement is the basis of Appleton House's "Roman Parallel", which produces the Revelatory Eclogue. (Indeed, 'Roman Camps' are recalled during the harvest/war itself (LV).)

As I have indicated, the Civil War and its repercussions "purged" the landscape; first producing a 'Tabula Rasa' (LVI) and then the 'fresher' landscape of stanza LXXIX. At that point Maria appears, making of this purgation a renovation. This involves the purification that I have noted: and the crystallization of Maria's purificatory function is her 'vitriifying' - 'by her Flames... /Nature is wholly vitrifi'd' (LXXXVI). As I noted, this is a rehearsal of the Last Day, which was understood to 'vitrify' the earth. That occurrence was linked with the agency of Christ at His Second Coming: he was the 'vitrifier' of the End.

who may abide the day of his coming?... For he is like a refiner's fire... And he shall sit like a refiner and purifier.

(Malachi iii.2-3)

This effect, the 'vitrefaction' of the End,⁶⁷ is rehearsed in the "coming" of Maria; and as the Reformation Astraea she has a similarly "purifying" effect.

Her renovation of the landscape merely prefigures the permanent renovation that the Coming will achieve. Therefore Marvell is careful to emphasize that, although Maria's renovation brings 'Order' to the landscape of her 'little world', the elements of that landscape still partake of the desolatio of the Latter Days.

'Tis not, what once it was, the World;

But a rude heap together hurl'd;
 All negligently overthrown,
 Gulfes, Deserts, Precipices, Stone.
 Your lesser World contains the same.
 But in more decent Order tame;
 (LXXXVI)

This is the desolatio recognized by many of Marvell's contemporaries as the character of the world as it drew to its close, 'All negligently overthrown' and barren. One of the desolators that brings it to this pass is war, the 'wars and rumours of wars' that participated in the Latter-Day desolatio. Accordingly, in this poem the gradual devastation of the landscape is seen as effected by the Civil War that was England's 'Wast': bringing her current situation into consonance with the desolating character of the Latter Days. That desolation still obtains at Nunappleton, despite Maria's presence - 'Your lesser World contains the same'. What she has done is to put her microcosmic world into 'more decent Order' - hers is a prefatory renovatio. To change the nature of its elements is the prerogative of the one whose Coming she heralds, in this pastoral world at least. Under her influence, the landscape is merely a 'Map' of the new earth to come: 'Paradice's only Map', a figure of the final paradise.

Therefore, as the Reformation Astraea, Maria represents the chiliastic hope of the poem: her promise of the final renovation balances the desolation of its central section, and provides a preface to the Final Image of the End. Because of her arrival, the poem contains a promise of the final renovation, and thereby places England's Civil War within the context of a fortunate issue. By this means - the fortunate character of the desolation/renovation pattern - the War is seen in a consolatory light. Moreover, to this pattern the "microcosmic" medium of the poem contributes: since, by the diminution of scale and the bucolic metaphor, the war/harvest intimates disaster without tragic overtones; and the seasonal character of harvest, together with the theatrical metaphor, provide intimations of 'Order' that may "contain" the War. That fortunate 'Order' in which the War participates assumes a personified form in Maria-Astraea's 'Order' (LXXXVI); as herald of the Coming she promises the fulfilment of the movement from Latter-Day desolatio to final renovatio. For this reason Maria is portrayed as the Reformation Astraea, for without her the fortunate pattern would not be seen in its entirety. As Astraea, she imports into the poem intimations of the 'new earth' that will appear after the End - after, that is, the end of the poem also. Astraea mediates between the iron age of war and the golden age - a twilight figure, 'Flying betwixt the Day and Night'.

Maria's arrival as the 'Halcyon' Astraea is given its specifically eschatological character by the imagery of "portents" and of "vitrefaction" (LXXXIV-VI); such portents were considered, when contemporaries observed

them at this time, to be signs of the End.⁶⁸ Thus Maria is both Astraeon ('Halcyon') and apocalyptic: a combination proper to Revelatory Eclogue.

Further, Marvell himself has "portended" her Coming, in stanza LXX.

Out of these scatter'd Sibyls Leaves
Strange Prophecies my Phancy weaves:
And in one History consumes...
What Rome, Greece, Palestine, ere said.

The prophecies written by men of 'Rome' include the foremost Roman prophet, Virgil: and Marvell has made reference to his model by his specific invocation of Sibylline prophecy. This Cumaean Sibyl - to whom he referred also in the Virgilian passage of Illustrissimo Viro - was the seer to whom Virgil attributed his own prophecy in Eclogue IV. 'Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas' (4): in this manner Virgil begins his prophecy, and introduces Astraea. Similarly, this reference to the Sibyl is a premonition of Maria's arrival a few stanzas later; as in Illustrissimo Viro, the reference is used to introduce the Revelatory Eclogue. Here Marvell is characterizing himself as Maria's prophet - she is one of the 'Prophecies' gathered out of the 'Sibyls Leaves', and he is a local "Virgil" to Maria's 'parochial Astraea. It is no accident that Marvell here speaks from the 'Wood', for it was from the 'silvas' (Ecl.IV.3) that Virgil also spoke. Like the Roman poet, Marvell is granting a vision of Astraeon renovation to a land scarred by war.

Just as Marvell's introduction of Maria-Astraea imitated the exordium of his model, so does his exit. As I have indicated, the ending of the poem intimates the ending of the world, in the context allowed by the onset of 'night' in Nunappleton. Maria arrived in the twilight, and by the last stanza it is 'dark'. In this manner Marvell makes thematic use of the pastoral convention whereby the poem follows the course of a single day. This convention was also a recurrent feature of Virgil's eclogues, several of which end with a description of the coming of evening.⁶⁹ Marvell redefines this convention by bringing it into correspondence with his eschatological theme.

Moreover, this thematic usage illuminates something that has puzzled several critics: Appleton House appears to convey the action of a single day, but it also contains intimations of several different seasons of the year. In fact, a day at Nunappleton is a "microcosm" of the year, just as the place itself is a 'lesser' version of the 'World'. This simultaneous day/year is that combination proper to a 'revelatory' poem, since the Revelation (as I have mentioned) was understood to mean 'year' by the word 'day'. (Marvell used this divine "time" in the First Anniversary.) That is, the "time" of the poem is prophetic time, imitating that of Revelation itself.

Similarly, when the Night of the End has begun to fall over the

landscape - 'the Shadows... /From underneath these Banks do creep' - this is the time when the End is actually approaching: and the line-number here is 666, the Number of the Beast in Revelation (xiii.17-18) - his "number has come up", as it were. It was by the use of this number that many commentators had attempted to compute the Last Day⁷⁰. Accordingly, it is at this moment that Maria - Astraea is characterised as the 'Halcyon' Peace that announces the coming: 'The modest Halcyon comes in sight' (669). This numerological timing, and the 'time' of the poem as a whole, combine the eschatological theme with the Virgilian model to make a Revelatory Eclogue.

Marvell's image for the 'inverted' world, in the last stanza, is similarly constructed for this combination. Here his use of the 'Hemisphere' as an index of the great alteration recalls Virgil's Eclogue. There Virgil diagnoses the "age that is to come" from a similar alteration in the normal status of the world.

aspice con~~v~~exo nutantem pondere mundum
... caelumque profundum;
aspice venturo laetantur ut omnia saeclo !
(Ecl. IV. 50-52)

In both the Fourth Eclogue and Appleton House the world itself signals its imminent transformation; and Marvell's use of the 'dark Hemisphere' directly recalls Virgil's 'convexo ... pondere mundum'.

The Virgilian elements of Appleton House are unified within that combination of the Virgilian Eclogue and eschatology which I have called the Revelatory Eclogue. In Appleton House this combination is realized by means of the characterization of Maria Fairfax as the Reformation Astraea, the figure of renovation and harbinger of the Coming. Her major role in the poem, at first sight somewhat strange, is in fact due to her representation of this figure; thereby amplifying the eschatological theme, and personifying its promise of renewal. Thus Maria-Astraea draws Nunappleton into the universal pattern, just as her father caused it to participate in the national history.

Thus Marvell combines a playfully extravagant compliment to the Fairfaxes (the normal objective of the country-house poem, developed in an original manner), with a joco-serious adumbration of his dearest theme. The playful manner of the poem recognizes the distance of its setting from this elevated theme: it is, as I suggested earlier, the mode whereby Marvell avoids "presumption". Maria is a parochial Astraea upon whom Marvell may superimpose a playful expression of the classical formula: reflecting in a "diminished" manner - that is, reverently - a serious theme. It is the presence of a Revelatory Eclogue in Appleton House that is the source of its "microcosmic" decorum. Like the Fourth Eclogue,

Marvell's poem may 'sing of woods', but it also sings of 'greater things': 'si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae', 'maiora canamus' (3,1). By Virgil's own prescription, therefore, the Revelatory Eclogue could pack 'maiora' - in this case, the last stages of history - into the pastoral microcosm. It is pastoral (silvas) still, and yet treats silvan figures of a much larger import that exist outside it. Only speaking for Cromwell's England, in the later Ingelo, could Marvell find a level which (while still leavened with playfulness) allowed him to treat the Revelatory Eclogue in overt relationship to international events: Appleton House is a "private" counterpart of the "public" Ingelo. In both cases the Virgilian imitation is founded upon the poetry of compliment, one to a Queen, the other to a young girl and her famous family. Mutatis mutandis, Marvell made use of the opportunities at hand to treat his special theme in the Virgilian manner.

iii. The Active Astraea and the Quietist Poet

In Appleton House Maria-Astraea is a parochial personification of eschatological activism, as the agent of renovation. Her father, Fairfax, is described as one who could have renovated England had he so chosen (XLIV): he 'Might once have made our Gardens spring/ Fresh as his own and flourishing', and the pun on 'Spring' here is especially appropriate to renovatio. His activism would have taken a political form; Maria's is of another kind, at once intimating a parochial renovation and figuring its universal counterpart. But both are by these means portrayed as representatives of activism, and Maria may be seen as appropriating and universalizing her father's role in the realization of renovatio. The other Puritan of note in this poem is Marvell himself, and he - like the Fairfaxes - is also affected by the activism complex: especially, through his quietist relationship to the Astraeian activism of Maria. In this poem the largest - as also perhaps the most serious - joke is on Marvell himself, who extends his compliment by derogation of himself.. It is with this activist/quietist antinomy in the poem that this section is concerned.

The context of chiliastic activism is the "desolate" Latter Days, and the obligation - by means of reforming activism - to achieve renovatio. As a period of desolation, the current Latter Days provide a chiliastic version of Virgil's 'Iron Age': encapsulated in the desolated landscape of the penultimate stanza. That the world is in its "iron" phase, and that reformation is required, Marvell makes evident early in the poem: by establishing that ambience of decadence which is the Latter-Day context.

He chooses to lament the character of the 'Age' by a rebuke directed at its "presumptuous" style of architecture. The architect of this age

of his great Design in pain
Did for a Model vault his Brain,
Whose Columnes should so high be rais'd
To arch the Brows that on them gaz'd.

Why should of all things Man unrul'd
Such unproportion'd dwellings build?

...

What need of all this Marble Crust
T'impark the wanton Mote of Dust,
That thinks by Breadth the World t'unite
Though the first Builders fail'd in Height?
(I-III)

Here Marvell derides the spirit of presumption - crystallized especially by the third stanza's reference to the Tower of Babel - that, as we saw, was so cardinal an error in his view (Chapter III). As I have indicated, in contradistinction to such decadent extravagance Appleton House represents the 'sober' (I) spirit of Puritanism: humble in its proportions, it is contrasted with Cawood Castle, the magniloquence of which reflects the character of its 'Prelate great'. Similarly, in Marvell's prose works - as we saw - episcopacy was the foremost exponent of "presumption". Appleton House, therefore, represents a properly 'Proportion'd' belief, built as it is upon the principles of 'holy Mathematicks' (VI). In a similar manner Milton recommended a holy 'arithmetic' as the proper spirit of theocracy: all divine Truth's

body is homogeneous, and proportional, [and] this is the golden rule in theology as well as in arithmetic, and makes up the best harmony in a church.

Milton's metaphor is taken from architecture, evoking the Golden Section and true proportion. Of this 'homogeneous' character was the "reformed architecture" of Cromwell's state in the First Anniversary; and Appleton House represents a similarly 'sober Frame' (I) - it is a "reformed" building.

To this character of the house Marvell links its significance as a recrudescence of a past 'golden age': a throwback, that is, to original "primitivism" (which means to original religion too).

But all things are composed here
Like Nature, orderly and near;
In which we the Dimensions find
Of that more sober Age and Mind,
When larger sized Men did stoop
To enter at a narrow loop;
As practising, in doors so strait,
To strain themselves through Heavens Gate.

(IV)

Here the religious significance of the house becomes explicit, as it is compared to the proper "way" to Heaven. The characterization of a country-house as a representative of traditional moral values is a motif familiar in the country-house poem. But Marvell has used it to convey the "architecture" of reformation in particular; and, looking to his Revelatory Eclogue, he has related the house to an earlier, better age - what, for Virgil, is the past golden age that will return with Astraea.

Having portrayed Appleton House as a representative of reformation - in the current, decadent age - Marvell, prompted by its gardens, muses upon war as an expression of man's fall from a garden-state:

Unhappy! shall we never more
That sweet Militia restore,
When Gardens only had their Towrs,
And all the Garrisons were Flowrs,
When Roses only Arms might bear,
And Men did rosie Garlands wear?
(XLII)

The time when 'Men did rosie Garlands wear' is a past golden age, a classical trope; rendered topical by the recent Civil War that has provided an 'Unhappy' contrast to the 'sweet Militia' of the flowers. 'shall we never more/... restore' that golden age, Marvell asks: prefiguring the promise of renovation at the end of the poem. There Maria-Astraea, harbinger of the renovatio (or new golden age), is restored to those 'Garlands' that here characterize the 'happy' state: part of Nature's grateful tribute to her is that 'The Garden [gives] Flow'rs to Crown Her Head' (LXXXVIII). ('Garlands' and 'Coronets' are the same, as we know from Marvell's eponymous poem, when the coronets are made from flowers too.) Therefore the Garden is restored by her, by a return of its capacity to 'garland' men. Upon the fallen state of stanza XLII she has caused a renovatio or golden age to supervene.

As that stanza implies, war is the source of England's desolatio: a reflection appropriate to the desolation by 'wars and rumours of wars' that was understood to occur in the Latter Days. As we saw, England as

that dear and happy Isle
The Garden of the World ere while,
Thou Paradise of four Seas...
(XLI)

is England's unspoiled character as the Elect Nation. In the Elizabethan version of the Virgilian imperium, it had been understood that this Reformation England represented a 'golden age' of true religion; just as, here, it is characterized by golden-age elements.⁷² But now England has 'fallen' from that state because of the national sin of the War, her 'luckless Apple'. The same national 'scelus' of civil war has desolated Rome in Virgil's poem,⁷³ and is the 'iron age' upon which Astraea will supervene. So, here, England is 'made Mortal' and 'Wast(ed)' by the War - her own desolatio or iron age: as, later in the poem, Marvell forecasts the renovation that will succeed desolation, so Virgil had envisaged the renovation of Rome when her 'sin' was dispelled by the golden child. Thus, in Appleton House, the Virgilian succession of iron into golden ages is transformed into the eschatological movement from Latter-Day desolatio (War and Flood) to final renovatio (figured by Maria-Astraea).

The "iron" element of War is explicitly diagnosed by Marvell while he is still in Fairfax's garden. In the "golden" days,

The Gardiner had the Souldiers place,
And his more gentle Forts did trace.
The Nursery of all things green
Was then the only Magazeen.
The Winter Quarters were the Stoves,
Where he the tender Plants removes.
But War all this doth overgrow:
We Ord'nance Plant and Powder sow.
(XLIII)

The creation of life by cultivation has been replaced by the manufacture of tools of destruction. (A similar contrast results from the juxtaposition of Fairfax's 'garden' with the 'harvest' of war.) The recollection of Adam - the 'Gardiner' of Eden - contributes to the counterpoint of golden age (in this case, the first Christian paradise) and the iron age of war. The 'green' character of original innocence (which is also the colour of Spring and renovatio) is 'overgrown' by war; a metaphor which - as throughout the poem - makes the landscape a representation of the national condition. Here the recollection of the original golden age, Eden, provides a reference-point for the movement of desolatio et renovatio: which, in eschatological terms, is from Eden through history to the Latter-day desolation and the final 'new earth'. In Virgil's terms, the golden age was first, and will return.

Here the metaphor of landscape indicates a corruption of Nature: implied especially by the oxymoronic 'We Ord'nance Plant'. Such a corruption of Nature was consequent upon man's own corruption⁷⁴ (here, from 'Gardiner to Souldier'), which was lamented at the beginning of the poem. These two elements - Men and Nature - share both 'iron age' corruption and renovation; both, as we saw, are duly renovated by Maria-Astraea. Moreover, it is precisely her "reforming", pious nature which will achieve this renovation of a landscape marred by national sin. (A similar effect was attributed to Christina in Ingelo, where she 'expiated' the sins of her people.)

The desolation of the landscape occurs in the war/harvest, the central section of the poem. It represents a crisis of desolatio, and therefore it is appropriate that the Locusts of the Apocalypse - appointed desolators in the Latter Days - should preside over the Mowers' 'Massacre'. The dislocated effects of such a desolation are particularly evident in stanza L, where the Mowers embark upon their work:

With whistling Sithe, and Elbow strong,
These Massacre the Grass along:
While one, unknowing, carves the Rail,
Whose yet unfeather'd Quills her fail.
The Edge all bloody from its Breast
He draws, and does his stroke detest;
Fearing the Flesh untimely mow'd

To him a Fate as black forebode.

Several attempts have been made to account for the presence of this incident in the poem, the most popular of which is singularly unconvincing.⁷⁵ In fact the 'Rail' is the sort of victim that one would expect in the course of harvesting, and is not itself symbolic. The true importance of this occurrence is explicitly indicated: that this was an 'untimely' death, caused 'unknowing(ly)' by the Mower. This involuntary "murder" is in contrast to the 'Massacre', which is ordained and intended. The point of the Mower's distress is that, precisely, such murderous activism requires to be both 'known' (intended) and 'timely' (ordained, in step with time). Therefore to perform such an action is particularly ominous ('forebod(ing)') in an age when - as we have seen - it was constantly impressed upon the individual that it was necessary to be in step with time, and to base that timeliness upon a prophetic "knowledge". In the words of the Horatian Ode, one had at once to 'act and know'. In this manner the wretched Mower reflects (in "diminished" fashion) the individual's problems with the activism complex; and this allusion is appropriately underpinned by the resonances of 'Fate' and omen in the last couplet. 'untimely', the key word in the stanza, is reiterated a little later, when the rail undergoes its 'untimely Funeral' (LII); and where Marvell repines the purely contingent effects of destruction ('Chance o'retakes what scapeth spight'). The purpose of the incident is to embody that 'Chance', and its offence against the principle of 'timeliness'. Thereby it intimates not merely the innocent victims of Civil War, but also the notion that such activities - such activism - may easily pass its proper bounds. The massacre of the grass was intended: the rail's death was not, and is therefore an improper act.

This implication, reflecting the activism complex, is enlarged by Marvell's introduction in the subsequent stanza of 'bloody Thestylis' (LI) (her name is taken from Virgil's Eclogues⁷⁶). Her voracious character personifies an unregenerate action - not activism, but destructiveness. Accordingly, as well as being 'bloody', she is heard to object to Marvell's characterization of the Mowers as the New Israel ('he call'd us Israelites'): this reveals that her destructiveness is innate, since she does not recognize the fundamental point of activism - that these are the New Israel, the militants of Protestantism. (Her intention to cook and consume the rail, and her trapping another (LI), bring the point home.) Thus in these stanzas, at the heart of the desolatio that must be actively prosecuted for purgation, Marvell includes two examples of the wrong species of activism: the first 'untimely', the second purely destructive, because undirected by the required principles. (That is, the Civil War

itself was distinguished by a confusion of these two types of action.) These resonances of the activism complex are further developed in the following section, where the poet himself is drawn into that complex.

For, from the theatre of war - the 'meadows' of England - Marvell retires to the 'Sanctuary' of the wood. Like the war itself (with its 'Roman Camps'), this wood also has a Roman resonance: of sylvan retreat from public events, the modus vivendi characterized by umbra and otium. Marvell himself characterized this pyrrhic attitude, in a later prose work: warning that

Princes... [should not] by continual terrour... amaze, shatter,
and hare their People, driving them into Woods, and running
them upon Precipices.

(RT, 234; my italics)

In just this fashion Marvell takes shelter from the political desolatio of the time: 'I, retiring from the Flood,/ Take Sanctuary in the Wood' (LXI). (The 'Precipices' of desolatio appear later, in stanza LXXXVI.) What has driven him into this area is the 'Flood', the 'concluding Act' (LIX) of this theatrical spectacle of history. Of that succession of 'Scenes' Marvell has been merely an observer. His retreat into the wood ends even this passive role as a spectator of history's drama.

At first sight - given the nature of the activism complex - one might diagnose a fit of quietism here; quietism being a form of 'timely' retreat, but only on certain terms. In the course of the wood section, Marvell conveys, first, that he understands himself to be adopting the legitimate stance of quietism; secondly, that - as the poet commenting on the past action of the man - he has here subsided into negligence. Just as 'Thestylis' was the wrong species of activism, so here Marvell manifests the wrong species of quietism: intimating his own problems with the activism complex. Here the poet comments ironically upon himself.

First, as I indicated in an earlier chapter, the retreat into the wood displays the classic symptoms of Marvell's self-protective obsession. 'How safe, methinks, and strong, behind/ These Trees have I incamp'd my Mind' (LXXVI). In a foregoing section I suggested that it was precisely this inclination for "privacy" and inertia that made Marvell vulnerable to a misreading of the times - that biassed him towards quietism, even when that might not be the appropriate response to current events. This factor is indicated by Marvell in this passage, which reflects his recognition of his own negligence.

The introductory stanza signals this significance of the section. As I have noted, the 'Ark' or wood in which he 'imbarks' is the traditional image of the Church Militant, on its journey towards the eschaton. How can a retreat - explicitly characterized as such - fulfil the activist role of

the Church Militant, of which Marvell here avows himself a member? It doesn't, unless it represents a quietist interval appropriate to the aims of the Saints. And that it cannot, here, because these are the times of crisis - of war and flood: times for activism. By his recollection of the image of militancy, here, Marvell provides an ironic comment upon the "retreat" of his persona in the poem. (Hereafter called "Marvell".) And this ironic resonance of the image is confirmed by the conceit of the stanza's last couplet, that in this Ark 'all Creatures might have shares,/ Although in Armies, not in Paires.' The 'Armies' are those of militant Protestantism; reflecting the military activism of the Civil War from which he has just retreated. These carry a pertinent eschatological idea, that at the second Deluge the salvation of the Elect will refer to all - not merely to Noah's handful.

Furthermore, in this stanza the first person - the 'I' of Marvell himself - makes its first appearance in the poem. This introduction of the individual is proper to the activist complex that Marvell is treating here. As I have indicated, Marvell has abandoned here even the passive role as spectator of history. The stanza begins, 'But I': indicating that "Marvell" is going against the grain of current events; or, rather, turning away from them. Instead of acting,

I, easie Philosopher,
Among the Birds and Trees confer:
And little now to make me, wants
Or of the Fowles, or of the Plants.
(LXXI)

In this manner the individuality of "Marvell", the 'I', has been introduced only to be absorbed into a sort of general species. This "natural" Marvell, in approaching the state of 'Fowls or... Plants', has receded a great distance from the theatre of history in which men 'act': birds and plants do not act, since that is the preserve of man. The word 'easie' is a danger-signal; it does not comport well with the Puritan ethic of 'a very hard duty', as expounded by Marvell himself.⁷⁷ Moreover, it is worth noting that both retreats - into the wood (LXI) and into a "natural" state (LXXI) - take the same syntactical form: 'But I,..' and 'Thus I,...'. This form, appearing at the very opening of both line and stanza, emphasizes "Marvell's" individual identity, at moments when he is making a crucial choice of role. Both stanzas are stages in "Marvell's" abrogation of activism.

"Marvell" (but not the poet) imagines that he is espousing the legitimate course of quietism. This is indicated in the introductory stanza, where he carefully characterizes his retreat as a quietist

"interval"; and does this by means of his usual word for that "interval".

But I, retiring from the Flood,
Take Sanctuary in the Wood;
And, while it lasts, my self imbark...

'while' characterizes this retirement as an "interval", and is proper to quietism. If there is any doubt of its importance, a contrasting moment later in the poem confirms the significance of the word. This occurs in the context of Maria's future marriage, and her 'universal good':

While her glad Parents most rejoice,
And make their Destiny their Choice.

Mean time ye Fields...

While yet She leads her studious Hours,
((Till Fate her worthily translates,
And find a Fairfax for our Thwaites)
Employ the means you have by Her.

(LXXXIII-IV)

In these stanzas the temporal pattern is carefully delineated: 'While', 'Mean time', 'While yet', 'Till', all subsumed into 'Fate' and 'Destiny'. In particular, here 'While' (as in 'mean while') and 'Mean time' are found in quick succession; and 'mean time' is placed for emphasis at the beginning of both line and stanza. The first incidence refers to the Fairfaxes, and relates to 'their Destiny their Choice'. As I have indicated, this is a version of the activism complex - that careful correspondence between 'Destiny' and 'Choice' that derives from submission to God's will in history. Destiny decrees, and one voluntarily "chooses" that decree for oneself; the crucial element in Puritan activism. Here the Fairfaxes are shown to have achieved the combination that makes a 'Choice' of 'Destiny': they have assumed an attitude appropriate to an "interval", to the term 'while'. That is, they "wait upon" the fulfilment of Maria's destiny 'for some universal good'. Similarly, in the subsequent lines Marvell enjoins this principle upon Nunappleton too: 'Mean time ye Fields'. Here Nature is to make use of the "interval" of Maria's presence - 'yet... till' - to renovate itself 'by Her'. When the interval is over, she will marry and fulfil her 'Destiny'. So here, as in stanza LXI, the crucial 'while' intimates an "interval" of the destined kind: here, it is validated by what we have been told of the Fairfaxes, whereas in the Wood it is undermined by irony - an illusion. These two stanzas contrast Marvell and his employers in a manner which - as I shall show - is operative throughout the poem.

For the moment, let us continue to investigate the Wood section, in which "Marvell's" problems of activism are portrayed. As we have seen, chiasm demands that one be both a spectator of, and an actor in, the "masque" of history. "Marvell" has here relinquished the spectatorial role; however, he does provide a role for himself as an "actor" - in a

manner which reveals his delusion: in the Wood. The masque-form is evoked, as I have mentioned, throughout the poem: and the dual role of spectator and actor proper to masques⁷⁸ is also that proper to the historical drama, in which the chiliast was to be simultaneously "investigative" and "active". This dual role required by masque is evoked by Marvell as he observes "himself" in the wood.

And see how Chance's better Wit
 Could with a Mask my studies hit!
 The Oak-Leaves me embroyder all,
 Between which Caterpillars crawl:
 And Ivy, with familiar trails,
 Me licks, and clasps, and curles, and hales.
 Under this antick Cope I move
 Like some great Prelate of the Grove.
 (LXXIV)

"Marvell" has indeed assumed (put on the "dress" of) a role, but it is an 'antick' role, without substance outside the 'Grove'. Moreover, this 'Mask' is of another kind from that of history, which obtained in the 'meadows': it issues from 'Chance', that which, in stanza LII, described such 'untimely' contingencies as the rail's death. This is an accidental or contingent 'Mask', in contrast to the carefully-designed "masque" of history. It is "Marvell's" delusion to imagine that 'Chance' has 'better Wit', and contrasts with the eschatological 'Choice' of the Fairfaxes; whereas they choose their fate deliberately, "Marvell" is here a patient of contingency.

Accordingly, another ironic image (as in the case of LXI's 'Ark') counters his assertion here. 'The Oak-Leaves me embroyder', says he, recalling the function of oak-leaves as a reward for civic service (as they are in The Garden, i). Obviously, that reward of activism is hardly appropriate to this piece of acting. Here the 'Mask' of entertainment is contrasted with the great masque of history,⁷⁹ acting with activism.

Furthermore, the very role assumed here by "Marvell" carries its own condemnation of his stance. In this stanza he becomes 'some great Prelate' - as the italics invite us to notice quite particularly; and, earlier in the poem, he has already cast a disapproving glance at the 'Prelate great' of Cawood Castle: representative of episcopacy. This is hardly a legitimate disguise for the Puritan chiliast; and echoes of these words in his other works make the implication of condemnation quite clear. The 'antick Cope' of this prelatical "Marvell" is derived from Milton's Apology For Smectymnuus:⁸⁰ where, opposing the Arminian rituals favoured by episcopacy, he derides their affectation of 'an antick Coape upon the Stage of a High Altar'.⁸¹ In Milton's phrase the hypocrisy of this affectation is emphasized by the word 'Stage': which, in Marvell's stanza, becomes the frivolous 'Mask' of the grove. With this we may compare another

reminiscence in Fleckno, where Marvell intimated the hypocrisy of the Papist priest by means of the latter's 'antick Cloak'(75).⁸² The implications of this image are further confirmed in The Loyall Scot, where Marvell reviles episcopacy thus:

Their Companyes the worst that ever playd
And their Religion all but Masquerade.
The Conscious Prelate therefore did not Err,
When for a Church he built a Theatre.
(166-9)

Here again the episcopal 'Mask' is a 'Masquerade': an hypocritical amalgam of 'Companyes', 'playd', 'Theatre' - these are actors, not activists. Moreover, in terms of Marvell's thought - in this poem as always - these were the obstructors of reformation; by assuming this "prelatical" role "Marvell" is shown to be guilty of negligence in the eschatological context. Here the poet passes judgement upon his own lack of involvement in the Civil War and its political aftermath of 'Flood': Marvell observes, with irony, "Marvell" in 'Mask'.

This, the culmination of the portrait of "Marvell's" negligence in the wood, is preceded by various meditations upon the phenomena of the wood: some have been mentioned above, others will be noted a little later. For the moment, one point requires emphasis. In general the wood section has been regarded by critics with much gravity, as some "mystic" vision of nature. Such readings have tended to invest "Marvell's" prelatical disguise with a positive meaning, as a self-portrait of a semi-Christian "priest of nature".⁸³ This mistaken view is "read back" into "Marvell's" essentially frivolous meditations, the tone of which is in fact an index of its parodic nature. His quirky extravagance here is a comment upon the legitimacy of "Marvell's" retreat.

As several critics have noted, there are in this section recollections of the works of Saint-Amant and other French "libertin" poets.⁸⁴ These have normally been understood as utterly serious in content; I would, instead, agree with Annabel Patterson that these reminiscences provide a parody of "libertin" poses⁸⁵ - and I would add that their supine, apathetic character is the specific target of Marvell's parody. Thus, when Marvell notes that

The Nightingale does here make choice
To sing the Tryals of her Voice.
Low Shrubs she sits in, and adorns
With Musick high the squatted Thorns.
(LXV)

-he is commenting upon the withdrawal of his muse into the wood, where it is restricted to 'Low Shrubs' and 'squatted Thorns' for both subject and audience. The wood is a retreat from the "higher themes" of the meadows. In the next stanza "Marvell" claims to remain true to 'graver accents' (as he calls them in the First Anniversary), that contrast with the Nightingale:

'But I have for my Musick found/ A Sadder, yet more pleasing Sound' than hers (LXVI). However, this 'Sadder' poetry, it transpires, is that of 'Stock-doves' rather than of solemn themes. Therefore the adjective which Marvell chooses to describe "himself" in the subsequent stanza - 'I careless' - represents that "negligence" encapsulated by the experience of the wood: and which climaxes in the prelatical "Marvell" of stanza LXXIV.

That "Marvell" - though not the poet - has mistaken negligence for quietism, becomes apparent from the preceding stanza. There "Marvell" read 'History' and 'Nature'.

Out of these scatter'd Sibyls Leaves
 Strange Prophecies my Phancy weaves:
 And in one History consumes,
 Like Mexique Paintings, all the Plumes.
 What Rome, Greece, Palestine, ere said
 I in this light Mosaick read.
 Thrice happy he who, not mistook,
 Hath read in Natures mystick Book.
 (LXXIII)

Here, as I indicated in an earlier chapter, are the materials of historical revelation to man: 'Prophecies', 'History', and 'Mosaick' Scripture, and with them the revelation of God's "common providence" in 'Natures... Book'. It is, as I noted there, quite proper that Marvell should consult these, especially in the wake of Civil War - since commotions of this kind were understood to reveal aspects of the Design of history. This consultation is appropriate to a quietist "interval", as I indicated in the previous sections; "Marvell" considers himself to be engaged in such an interval.

The poet, however, provides some ironic notes which convey "Marvell's" mistake here. First - as in Illustrissimo Viro - the allusion to the Cumaean Sibyl by means of 'leaves' allows a comment upon the reliability of "Marvell's" interpretative activity: the leaves are 'scatter'd', a 'light Mosaick'. On one level, this 'light' is the enlightenment of revelation; but another level of meaning counters this assertion - that of "levity". "Marvell's" experience here is ambiguous: an intimation confirmed in the next (and last) couplet, where he himself recalls the difficulty of "interpretation": that one be 'not mistook'. In the next stanza it becomes evident that "Marvell" has been mistook, since his prelatical guise there is a personification of eschatological error.

Similarly, upon "interpretation" succeeds a responsibility to act in concert with what has been 'revealed' thereby; 'There are very many duties that depend upon a right understanding of the times', as one divine put it.⁸⁶ Here, however, Marvell portrays "himself" as assuming a fictitious role, a player-actor rather than an historical activist. The "negligence" implied by this image is confirmed in the succeeding stanzas, which amplify his current otium.

Then, languishing with ease, I toss
 On Pallets swoln of Velvet Moss;
 While the Wind, cooling through the Boughs,
 Flatters with Air my panting Brows.
 (LXXV)

Here the verbs all carry ironic comments upon this otium: 'languishing', 'swoln', 'cooling' - as opposed to the heat of action earlier exemplified in the Mowers⁸⁷ - and, above all, 'Flatters'. The result of this surrender to inertia is that 'my Thoughts too' disappear; none of these implications sorts with the Puritan activist's responsibility for "readiness", as expounded in the First Anniversary. The succeeding stanza, as I have noted, relates this otium to Marvell's self-protective obsession: indicating which proclivities are the source of his interpretative mistake. Such proclivities for "privacy" are, indeed, the major problem for Marvell in the face of the "public" activism complex.

How safe, methinks, and strong, behind
 These Trees have I incamp'd my Mind;
 Where Beauty, aiming at the Heart,
 Bends in some Tree its useless Dart;
 And where the World no certain Shot
 Can make, or me it toucheth not.
 But I on it securely play,
 And gaul its Horsemen all the Day.
 (LXXVI)

"Marvell" has here surrendered himself to his self-protective inclinations, and a life of 'ease': he has 'incamp'd' defensively against the 'World', in contrast to the 'Roman Camps' in the 'meadows' of action. Here, then, a military image - generically an image of action - becomes a metaphor for withdrawal: providing a recollection of the activism of the 'meadows' that is in ironic counterpoint to the burden of this stanza. Of such activism the world's 'Horsemen' are a personification: Romans to Marvell's 'Gaul'. These reminiscences of the poem's Roman Parallel import into this stanza the implications of Virgilian poetic activism, and the activist bias of Revelatory Eclogue in particular. This double level, characteristic of the poem, enacts a problematic in which the activist Revelatory Eclogue here counterpoints "Marvell's" apathy. Moreover, as in stanza LXXIV, he is still content merely to 'play' for the duration of the eschatological 'Day' of the poem: still an actor rather than an activist.

His inactivity is taken to extremes in the following stanzas: extremes of a parodic kind, which comment upon the mistakenness of his posture here.

Bind me ye Woodbines in your 'twines,
 Curle me about ye gadding Vines,
 And Oh so close your Circles lace,
 That I may never leave this Place:
 But, lest your Fetters prove too weak,
 Ere I your Silken Bondage break,

Do you, O Brambles, chain me too,
 And courteous Briars nail me through.
 (LXXVII)

Here the self-protective inclination reveals its neuroticism, in a parodic form which intimates self-criticism and self-mockery. Not content, it seems, with merely hiding from the 'Horsemen' of war and action, "Marvell" requires his natural retreat to 'bind', 'curle', and 'chain' him - that his will may not reassert the active vein. The comic irony here relates especially to "Marvell's" surrender of his active faculty - not only will he voluntarily 'languish', but he desires to become the passive victim of his very retreat. Here, and in stanza LXXV, he not only does not act, but Nature adopts the activity proper to himself. His request, that the landscape act upon him, is an inversion of the situation in the 'meadows' of history: where the activist Mowers dictate the transformation of the landscape. In this comic stanza the surrender of active will - what is later called the Fairfaxes' 'Choice' - becomes a wilful request for the restraint of activity.

This ironic twist is further supported by an implication which has been generally misunderstood by critics of this poem. Some time ago it was suggested that there is in this stanza a reminiscence of the Crucifixion,⁸⁸ and this reminiscence has been taken very seriously as an element in the wood's supposed "mysticism". I would argue that this muted reminiscence is, like the generally "outrageous" character of the stanza, an element in Marvell's ironic observation of "his own" negligence. As I noted when discussing Fleckno, Marvell's outrageous moments bear serious implications; and here, as in that poem, Marvell's comic tone carries an ironic comment upon the situation. His recollection of Crucifixion, here, is an equation of that triumphant victim with "Marvell's" similarly voluntary victimization here: the outrageousness of which equation indicates how far "Marvell" has erred here. This frivolous, 'Silken Bondage' is not comparable to that crucial moment of eschatology, when passivity was truly active for redemption: and this lack of comparability is a comic comment, a piece of self-mockery which places "Marvell".

That crucial moment of the Passion - distinct from "Marvell's" passivity here - is placed in the eschatological context: the context, that is, for human activism.

Here in the Morning tye my Chain...
 But, where the Floods did lately drown,
 There at the Ev'ning stake me down.
 (LXXVIII)

As I have indicated, the "time" of this poem is eschatological time. Thus, here, the 'Morning' and the 'Ev'ning' which are taken as points of reference obey this super-temporal scheme. The Passion, recalled in the previous stanza, signified the dawn of the Church Age - or 'better world',

as Marvell called it in Ingelo: the 'Morning' of the Age which ceases at the eschaton. Therefore "Marvell's" "passion" is to take place 'in the Morning'. Similarly, in this poem the 'Ev'ning' - as we have seen - signifies the movement of the world to the Last Day of the Final Image; it represents the end, as the 'Morning' signifies the beginning, of the Age. At both points "Marvell" envisages himself as inactive: 'chained' at the beginning, 'staked' at the End.

Moreover, 'at the Ev'ning' he requires to be 'stake(d)... down' not in the wood, but in the meadows. These are, as we have seen, the locale of historical events and the demesne of activism; so "Marvell's" negligence is to be carried out of the quietist locale of the wood even into the locale proper to activism. Thus, although "Marvell" now issues from the wood, he remains idle. Seeing the purged landscape that has succeeded the Flood, he sits down to continue his 'playing'.

Oh what a Pleasure 'tis to hedge
My Temples here with heavy sedge;
Abandoning my lazy Side,
Stretcht as a Bank unto the Tide;
Or to suspend my sliding Foot
On the Osiers undermined Root,
And in its Branches tough to hang,
While at my Lines the Fishes twang!
(LXXXI)

Here "Marvell's" attitude of 'play' has full expression, indicating that his irresponsible attitude (vis à vis the activism complex) has remained intact despite his exit into the "public" area of the landscape. He is "lazy" in more ways than one. For it has been noted - although without an understanding of its true context - that here 'It is the fish who play poet, as they "twang" at his "Lines".'⁸⁹ This comic conceit indicates, in fact, that "Marvell's" negligence is also a poetic negligence: just as he surrendered - a little earlier - the faculty of action to the landscape, so here he relinquishes his poetic function to the fish. As before, the comedy measures "Marvell", negligent chiliast and poet manqué.

This portrayal of eschatological negligence is immediately contrasted with its opposite. For upon "Marvell" comes, in the next stanza, Maria: bursting upon him in all her Astraeon activism.

But now away my Hooks, my Quills,
And Angles, idle Utensils.
The young Maria walks to night:
Hide trifling Youth thy Pleasures slight.
'Twere shame that such judicious Eyes
Should with such Toyes a Man surprize;
She that already is the Law
Of all her Sex, her Ages Aw.
(LXXXII)

Maria's Astraeon character is here immediately operative: she is the 'Law', and 'judicious' - an Astraeon justice, dominating (as it should) the 'Age'.

Her appearance shocks "Marvell" out of his otium, and he repudiates his 'idle Utensils', 'Pleasures slight' and 'Toyes'. The relationship of pupil to tutor is ironically overturned: 'young Maria' rebuking the 'trifling Youth', "Marvell". This inversion⁹⁰ is due to her Astraeon character of activism, which recalls the poet from 'Trifling' negligence; just as, in the next stanza, she causes 'Nature... it self [to] recollect'. Her "coming" is elevated by contrast to the poet's supinity: activism superseding negligence.

This contrast has several aspects. Whereas "Marvell" had implored the landscape to act upon him ('Bind me ye Woodbines...'), Maria-Astraea acts upon the landscape, transforming ('vitrifying') it. Similarly, while "Marvell" idled the 'Fishes twang'd', taking upon themselves his proper activity: whereas in face of Maria's energy 'The stupid Fishes hang' transfixed (LXXXV). And while "Marvell" hies from 'Beauty('s)... Dart' (LXXVI), Maria-Virgo actively resists "Amour": she 'couldst so soon prevent / Those Trains by Youth against [her] meant'. These are contributory elements to the contrast between "Marvell's" negligence and Maria's coming as Astraea, the activist for renovatio.

That Coming - as we saw - was in fact signalled by the Sibylline 'Prophecies' of the wood. To her fulfilment of these signs, "Marvell's" placid reception of them in the wood is a counterpoint: he mistakes and 'idles', she acts and fulfils.

In this manner Maria-Astraea becomes the fulfilment of the Fairfaxes' active role in history, which Marvell has demonstrated throughout the poem: she inherits a familial tradition of reforming activism (as, indeed, Christina did), which in her moves forward to renovation. In contrast to the luxurious negligence of the Papist nuns, William Fairfax is a reformer 'whose Offspring fierce/ Shall fight through all the Universe' (XXXI); he has set the pattern of the Fairfaxes' activism - which culminates in Maria's 'universal good'. The involvement of this 'great Race' in history is represented not only by Thomas Fairfax's military heroism - 'long since prophecy'd' (XXXI) - but also by another vision of their 'universal' destiny which counterpoised "Marvell's" inactivity in the wood.

The double Wood of ancient Stocks
Link'd in so thick, an Union locks,
It like two Pedigrees appears,
On one hand Fairfax, th'other Veres:
Of whom though many fell in War,
Yet more to Heaven shooting are:
And, as they Natures Cradle deckt,
Will in green Age her Hearse expect.
(LXII)

This stanza involves an extended play on trees as a metaphor for genealogy,⁹¹ combined with their use, in the Bible, as a metaphor for man.⁹² In "Marvell's" fancy (counterpointing his own situation), the trees represent

the Fairfacian dynasty: just as trees provide lumber for ships in wartime, so the Fairfaxes and Veres have provided a multitude of soldiers - 'many fell in War'. But theirs is a holy warfare, and like the unfelled trees they aim at heaven: 'to Heaven shooting are'.⁹³ Such a tendency includes even those who are not soldiers (Maria, and her father in retirement), 'Yet more...'; the holy war is, as we know, fought on many levels, and when the Fairfaxes later make 'their Destiny their Choice' they are still in sympathy with the activism complex. Here, it is the final couplet - appropriately - which once again places this line of pious warriors in their eschatological context. This context is illuminated by a glance at Marvell's known source, Saint-Amant:

... ces bois, qui ce trouverent
A la nativité du temps,
Et que tous les siècles reverent,
Estre encore aussi beaux et vers,
Qu'aux premiers jours de l'univers.⁹⁴

Since it here refers to the Fairfaxes, Marvell's treatment of his source takes on a serious aspect. It can be confirmed from Saint-Amant's 'la nativité du temps' that 'Nature's Cradle' refers to the beginning of the world; similarly, Nature's 'Hearse' refers to the End, and is given an appropriate position in the stanza. The Fairfacian line moves to its telos as history moves to the eschaton; their activities placed in the context of eschatology (as they were in stanza XXXI also). They 'Will in green Age her Hearse expect': in relation to the literal trees, this line describes the manner in which even ancient trees retain their 'greenness', 'green Age' implying this perennially youthful quality. Similarly, the 'greenness' that recrudesces every Spring implies the character of renovatio; the 'green Age' being at once the last 'Age', when all things will die, and its promise of 'green' renovatio - the Kingdom 'Age' which will ensue. The oxymoron in the phrase, 'green Age', suitably represents the paradox of desolatio ut renovatio, an End which is properly a beginning.

This pattern is linked to the Fairfaxes, in relation to whom 'green Age' suggests the continuous replenishment of an 'ancient Stock' through successive generations, so that even when the family is 'aged' it possesses youth: Maria, in effect - the 'sacred bud' of this tree, whose grafting or marriage Marvell foresees later in the poem. Thus the implication, that generation produces a pattern similar to the universal pattern of renovatio et desolatio, suitably presages the coming of Maria-Astraea the renovator. Equally, the Fairfaxes Nature's 'Hearse expect': they look to the Last Day, as chiliast activists must. The terminal position of this phrase thus reflects the End there envisaged, and also gives 'expect' a formally expectant quality; it "waits upon" the next stanza, upon the continuation of the poem to ^{its} own End. This is a poetic enactment of the "interval" before

the End; and provides a contrast to "Marvell's" improper interval in the wood. In this manner the wood section contains, by this recollection of Fairfacian activism, its own rebuke.

The Fairfaxes' activist destiny has now devolved upon Maria, since her father has ceased his political and military occupations. But Thomas' own active role is, as we have seen, recalled for eulogy on several occasions - not least as Marvell reflects upon the retirement itself. Just as Virgil states that under Pollio Rome's national sin will be cleansed (Ecl.IV.13-14), so Marvell recalls that Fairfax might have restored England's "fallen" garden (XLIV). Both Fairfax and Pollio are characterized as national saviours, even though in Fairfax's case this potential was unrealized. In the past his was an active role, that 'conquer'd Britain' (XXXI); and his retirement is equally "fated". For, as Marvell notes, Fairfax's salvatory function could only have been realized 'had it pleased him and God' (XLIV). Some readers have detected a note of criticism in this remark, but although Marvell is disappointed by Fairfax's retirement he is not critical:⁹⁵ when he says that such a role must have been decreed by Fairfax and God he is conveying the current belief as to the manner in which Providence controlled men's activism.

the hearts and affections of men do follow the guidance of [God's] decrees; men may do after their own councils and inclinations, but they are still suitable to his Providence.⁹⁶

Thus Fairfax, like Cromwell, serves the purposes of God even as he 'makes his Destiny his Choice'; his posture is at once voluntary and divinely decreed, and his retirement into quietism is as "timely" - as pertinent to God's will - as was his former activism. In this he contrasts with the idle nuns, whose 'cloister'd Vertue' is always inappropriate; their locked and fortified Nunnery⁹⁷ is, like "Marvell's" 'Silken Bondage', a form of slavery which contrasts with the voluntarism of the Fairfaxes. Against such images is juxtaposed Fairfax's militaristic garden, a sign that he retains his militant faculty even in his quietism; and it is precisely this faculty, the basis of Puritan "readiness", that guarantees the legitimacy of a quietist posture.

In this manner Appleton House reflects those Puritan 'Choices' which are demanded by an eschatological context: and which are especially pertinent in a time of national upheaval. Applying a chiliastic view to Marvell's employers, this engagement with the activism complex contributes to the combination of personal and public elements in the poem: for, portraying the national destiny, it portrays also the 'Destiny [and] Choice' of the Fairfaxes and of the poet himself - the family dedicated to public service and the tutor in private service. The gradations of 'Destiny' and 'Choice' are finely sketched: the Reformation Astraea and her activist import, the negligent poet, the quietist (erstwhile activist)

Fairfax, and the family tradition all provide variations upon the poem's eschatological theme. Details, like the sweaty labour of the Mowers and the bloodthirsty Thestylis, are drawn into this complex association of chiliastic ideas. Such elements, whether salient or local in function, once recognized in their context reveal that unity in the poem which has long evaded the investigations of its commentators. Using within its eschatological framework the Revelatory Eclogue, Appleton House is a delicate and frequently amusing meditation upon the universal destiny as seen through the current situation of the nation, into which its human characters are drawn. The joco-serious mode of the poem allows Marvell to extend his country-house poem in this manner, with himself and his pupil in suitable 'masks'. By the contrast between the negligent poet and his active Astraea the elements of Puritan 'Choice' are dramatized and personalized: and in this fashion Marvell evaluates his engagement with the activism complex in the early 1650s. Therefore he properly - and critically - aligns himself within the 'one History' intimated by the poem. As in his Horatian Ode, he enacts the principles of chiasm in his relationship to history: utilising here, as there, a Roman Parallel that formulates the Chiliastic View. The difference is one of mode: this is a private poem, as a species of 'Eclogue' ought to be, and amongst its serious jokes is the biggest joke against "Marvell" himself. In this poem self-mockery carries the most chiliastic weight, moralizing for activism.

In Appleton House, therefore, Marvell placed a country-house poem within a prophetic framework, for which Virgil provided the model of Revelatory Eclogue. For this purpose the model was eminently suitable, since it was founded upon a poem which was at once pastoral and prophetic; and the address of which was at once intimate and "national" in scope. From these several points of view, Virgil's Eclogue provided the ideal formulation for his successor's poem.

Similarly, as the great classical prophetic poet, Virgil's inspiration of the Revelatory Eclogue immediately invests Marvell's poem with resonances of the universal, proper to its theme. In addition, Marvell's recurrent identification of his Virgilian model with "poetic activism" allows, here, his meditations upon the activist complex; supporting the combination of pastoral and politics which is typical of Revelatory Eclogue, as of its model. And the pastoral mode proper to Revelatory Eclogue - in its purest form - has a resonance peculiar to itself, since it evokes also an extensive literary history.

In Pastoralism, literary tradition penetrates everywhere, like an atmosphere, softening the asperities of innovation and touching the contours,... with a halo of allusion and reminiscence.⁹⁸

Thus the pastoral mode itself evokes a literary history, which in a Revelatory Eclogue can become a structural analogue to the historical theme. There is a sense in which, for these purposes, the relationship of model and "imitation" is like the relationship between an Old Testament prophecy and its New fulfilment: a form of literary prophecy and fulfilment, where the pagan foretaste of revelation becomes a latter-day vision. It makes of literary prophecy a growing entity, feeding on the energies created by Virgil's character as both vatic poet and classical pastoralist.

The historical moment of the poem also assumes an especial quality of Revelatory Eclogue. Both Appleton House and the Fourth Eclogue describe the potential for renovatio after an eruption of national sin into Civil War: compounding vision and consolation, in a manner that was also true of Revelation itself.⁹⁹ Prophetic literature has always provided compensatory visions for unhappy moments in history,¹⁰⁰ and Revelation in particular was a testament to the blissful reward of present distress, and of a fortunate destination for the unfortunate.¹⁰¹ The pattern of desolation followed by renovation is the essence of Revelation's narrative, as of its promise: in Appleton House the same pattern provides a similar narrative movement, and a similar promise whereby Marvell may redeem the confusion of the times. (That hopeful superstructure is confirmed and supported by the poem's joco-serious mode, which reflects a sense of final resolution, just as in a dramatic comedy the tone suggests the happy ending.) Twice in as many years - in this poem (1652) and Ingelo (1653) - Marvell utilises Revelatory Eclogue as a formulation for hope, whether in the private or the political realms; in 1654 also he formulated his poetic activism after that model, in the First Anniversary - when, as his application for a post as Latin Secretary to Cromwell's government indicates, he had taken the activist lesson to heart and resolved upon a more public role. Appleton House, in its own delicate way, is a watershed in that movement towards activism: a movement which for Marvell coincided peculiarly with a need to utilise Revelatory Eclogue for its expression.

Appendix IV

A Fairfacian Revelatory Eclogue

As I have indicated, Lactantius' "millennial" reading of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue was widely influential in Reformation thought: it sealed the connection between the "pagan" golden age and its "true" counterpart, the Kingdom Age. Therefore it is not surprising to find, in the manuscript-book of Marvell's employer, Thomas Fairfax, an 'Egloge' of a Revelatory kind.

In the manuscript (Bodleian MS. Fairfax 40), the rubric for this work reads: 'An Egloge, maide by my uncle Mr. Ed. Fairfax in a Diologue betwixt tow Sheapards.'¹ At first sight this is an odd piece, since it consists of a pastoral dialogue based very closely upon the narrative and imagery of Revelation; a superficial oddity, explicable by means of the tradition of Revelatory Eclogue.

The two shepherds of the Eclogue are Lycaon and Hermes: the former a Papst, the latter (naturally) Protestant. Matters fall out in this manner:

The Argument:

Lycaon his false church extends
Through all the world, with pompe and pride
Hermes the church of Christ comends
And to her spouse brings home his bride.²

In view of their respective religious stances, it is appropriate that Lycaon herds goats, Hermes sheep;³ indeed, the whole Eclogue displays this charming lucidity. Both shepherds are lovers, Lycaon admiring Flora, who - it transpires - is a pastoral version of the Scarlet Whore (or false church), while Hermes' beloved is Psyche (the Soul and the true Church), the spouse of Christ.⁴

Whereas Lycaon displays all the hallmarks of spiritual pride, Hermes is a humble lover, conscious of sinful unworthiness. His love-songs evoke the language of the Song of Solomon,⁵ in which Christ was understood to woo His Spouse, the Church and the Soul; whom he would finally "marry" at the Last Day (Rev. xix.7). In addition to this importation of a biblical "pastoral", the various bucolic figures are transformed into familiar spiritual guises: the shepherd's dogs, for example, are devourers who ravage the flock they should guard - as in Milton's Lycidas, they are clerics in thin disguise (although, in this case, specifically Catholic). Similarly, as in Marvell's Appleton House, the Mower provides a contextual figure of Death ('The sweatie sith-man wth his razor keene/ Shore the perfumed beard from meadowes greene.').⁶

Having established its bucolic setting, the Eclogue develops into a

rustic paraphrase of Revelation.⁷ Fortunately, a single example of this simple imitation will suffice: a rendering of Revelation xii into wonderful doggerel:

Herm. Psyches my virgen bare a blessed sonne
 The dragon chastd her, she to desart runne
 The feend a streame of water at her flings
 Earth drunk the fload she scapt wth Eagles wings
 Crownd wth twelue stars cloth'd wth the glorious sun
 She doth wth Roes and Hindes in Eden wonne
 Ther Psyche liues and reignes in safty plast⁸
 Till time and times and halfe a time be past.

Here Psyche is a breathless version of the Woman Clothed With the Sun fleeing from the red Dragon into the wilderness, the Church ousted by its Antichristian impostor. Flora, on the other hand, consorts with the 'kings of the earth': 'Her gests were Kings and Lords of hightst [sic] bearth,/ All that were wise and rich upon the earth.'⁹ She resides, of course, at Rome-Babylon,¹⁰ and there practises the seductions of the Whore:

Flora was younge and faire few goats she kept
 Ten Kings espide her, Loued her, wth her slept.
 And in her sweet imbrace such ioy they found
 That wth three diadems her head they crownd.¹¹

Adorned thus with the papal tiara, Flora usurps the temple of God;¹² but she is a 'gardener' - as her name indicates - whose spiritual 'fruit' proves rotten.¹³ In contrast, Psyche, an arable farmer, brings in a rich harvest¹⁴ (that is, the harvest of the earth in Revelation); and she lives in the New Jerusalem.¹⁵

The conclusion of the Eclogue is (as one would expect) a vision of the end of the world; a description of Christ's Coming drawn from Revelation xix. 11-16, 21.

Herm. Sitting on Isis flowrie banke I spied
 On a white horse a crowned Monarch ride
 Upon his thigh was write his wonderous name
 Out of his mouth a Sword two-edged came
 Flora her beast and all her goats he slew
 And in a lake of fire ther bodys threw
 This king is Psyches Spouse wth him she went¹⁶
 And rul'd the world for Flora's lease was spent.

The idea that Flora, the Whore, is a "tenant" of God reflects the orthodox notion that Antichrist's period of dominion on earth was by permission or 'lease', in order to fulfil the purposes of God. The specificity of the location, 'Isis', implying that the writer lives in Oxford, is a personal reference intimating the reality of eschatological expectation - the writer's belief that he might witness this moment. (It is noteworthy that in Appleton House, Marvell is also sitting on a river bank, when Maria's "Coming" occurs.)

Again, as in Marvell and Milton, the vision of the Coming stills everything:

The heifer lett the hearbs untouched spring
 Forgott to feed, the stags amazed stood

The siluer riuer staid her speedie flood
 Charmed was the Adder deafe, tamde [sic] was the Lion
 So trees hard Orpheus, Dolphins hard Arion.¹⁷

This is the earth's reaction, not to the Coming itself, which (as in Appleton House) has not yet happened, but to the duet which describes it. This "paralysed" landscape implies a stillness of expectation; a phenomenon similar to that which is Christ's fore-runner in Marvell's and Milton's Revelatory Eclogues. For these the Eclogue provides an analogue, the very naïveté of which displays the common currency of Revelatory Eclogue in this period.

Appendix VRenovation For the Desolator: 'The Mower's Song'

As I noted above, the pattern of desolatio et renovatio is true both of the End and of the individual's experience, which anticipates the universal resolution of the Creation in this manner. In The Mower's Song Marvell describes an "individual" - the Mower - undergoing this pattern, and thereby foreshadowing its occurrence at the Last Day.

Marvell's ubiquitous figure of the Mower has long been recognized as an original departure from the central tradition of pastoral, which tended to concentrate upon the Shepherd or Swain.¹ As I remarked above, the Mower is a figure associated with Death the Mower. For Marvell, however, the attraction of this figure is due to the Mower's anticipation of Christ's 'Mowing' at the 'harvest' of the Last Day. In this respect he is not merely a figure of Death but also a "desolator",² his activities portending the final desolation: as they did, indeed, in the 'meadows' section of Appleton House.

In his connection with harvesting, the Mower is a postlapsarian figure - representing man's need to toil for sustenance because of the Fall (Genesis iii.17-19). He is a destroyer, 'massacring' the grass, as Marvell put it: but, by means of this destruction, he provides the sustenance necessary for life. He is, therefore, a paradoxical figure - a destroyer in the service of life; and as such he is a figura of the divine Mower, who at the End 'harvests' or desolates in order to renovate. The Mower's traditional association with Death and Time underpins his apocalyptic significance.

His postlapsarian nature is established in the first stanza of this poem.

My Mind was once the true survey
Of all these Medows fresh and gay;
And in the greenness of the Grass
Did see its Hopes as in a Glass;
(i)

From this innocence the Mower has "fallen".³ The 'Hopes' evoked by the 'Grass' are of a specific type, for this 'Grass' is - as in the other Mower poems - the biblical grass or 'Flesh', mortal man. Thus the 'Hopes' reflected in its 'greenness' are the hopes of bodily renovatio: the resurrection that will be effected at the End.⁴ As a contemporary phrased it, 'the verdant state of things is the symbol of the Resurrection',⁵ and it is that aspect of renovatio that the Mower recalls here.

His hopes of that renovatio have receded because of his "fall", which was effected

When Juliana came, and She
 What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me.
 (i)

This is the refrain of the poem, and its meaning is slightly modified at each recurrence. Here it indicates that, just as the Mower's scythe causes the Grass to 'fall' (cf. 'the Grasses fall', The Mower to the Glowworms, ii), so Juliana has caused his 'Thoughts' and nature to fall: presumably, into "lust".

Just as the 'Grass' was a biblical symbol, so this "lust" is biblical also. In the Scriptures "lust" is a generalized term, referring to sinful desires of any kind; in Revelation particularly the image of 'fornication' represents the sins of men seduced by the Scarlet Whore, and especially that of idolatry (xvii). Thus, as we saw in Chapter V, Spenser uses the symbolism of lust and seduction for the wiles of Antichristian figures, such as his Duessa. In Marvell's Mower poems 'Juliana' has a similar significance.

Thus, in Damon the Mower, her influence scorches the earth and deranges the Mower; in The Mower to the Glowworms her 'foolish fires' of lust mislead the hapless Mower (iii), who cannot find his way 'home' (iv) - that is, to Heaven⁶ - as a result. (That is, like Tom May and Marvell visiting Fleckno, he has been led astray out of the true spiritual "way".)

Juliana's scorching effect upon the landscape in Damon -

Not July causeth these Extremes,
 But Juliana's scorching beams.
 (iii)

- marks her out as a desolator; contrasting with Maria's renovating effect upon the landscape in Appleton House. The contrast between these two characters goes deeper; and manifests why Marvell has here adopted the Biblical imagery of lust.

As we have seen, Maria-Astraea is linked to a particular time of year: August and September, the months of Virgo. In Appleton House she "came" after the harvest, renovation superseding desolation; at the time appropriate for her coming. Similarly, 'Juliana' is associated with July (as the quotation above exemplifies); and thus with the time of desolating harvest, before the advent of the augustan Astraea. In this manner she becomes a figure of the desolating Antichristian phase that precedes the final renovatio; and her connection with heat and fire in Damon⁷ associates her with the conflagration which consummates the world's desolatio.

Her desolating function is personalized as her deranging effect upon the Mower's 'Thoughts and Me'.⁸ She has alienated him from his 'Hopes' of renovatio; his fall occurred 'When Juliana came'. Hers is a profane "Coming", in contrast with that of Maria-Astraea. A personal Scarlet Whore to the Mower, she uses the characteristic instrument of Antichristianism -

"lust" - to ensnare him.

For this symbolism of lust the Mower is an appropriate foil. For 'mowers' had long been associated with lustfulness, and as such were a frequent figure in bawdy ballads:⁹ indeed, the word 'mow' was colloquial for copulation.¹⁰ So, in Marvell's poem, the Mower and his beloved Juliana provide pastoral types for a minor mock-tragedy of desolatio. The Mower, as an autonomous 'I' in the poem, personalizes the effects of desolation; while his associations as a type universalize the experience of the poem, as a sort of witty parable for the Latter Days. (Indeed, this tragi-comic, parabolic quality is probably the source of critics' difficulties with the Mower poems.)

So Juliana, a tragi-comic representative of Antichristian desolation, drives a wedge between the Mower and the Creation (ii-iii). While the grass 'Grew more luxuriant', the Mower 'pine(d)' (ii). This desolating counterpoint, with the fertility that symbolizes renovatio, is a development of the traditional idea that man and nature were estranged by the Fall (a point recalled in The Mower Against Gardens). Similarly,

Wnen Juliana came, and She
What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me.
(ii)

On this occasion, the refrain indicates that, just as the Mower turns grass into hay - living nature into dead - and thereby divorces it from its natural origin; so Juliana divides his 'Thoughts' and "nature". In the case both of the literal grass and of the Mower (flesh), the pristine integrity is lost. This develops the theme of the stanza, which is postlapsarian division. Man is divided from nature, as the Mower is here; he creates divorces in nature, as the Mower does here; he is himself divided, as the Mower is here. Those postlapsarian "divisions" had been analyzed by a divine contemplating the current examples of political division¹¹; he had concluded that such divisions would remain until 'Christ at his coming... brings all into one againe.'¹² Thus, what the Mower requires to repair the ill effects of Juliana is a renovatio on the model of that Coming.

The idea of an apocalyptic solution to the misery inflicted by Juliana is first adumbrated in the next stanza: where the Mower invokes a traditional apocalyptic image. He reproaches the 'Medows' with their indifference to his state, 'While I lay trodden under feet.' The refrain, which follows, thus indicates that 'What I do' (treading the grass underfoot) is now done 'to Me' by Juliana (who treads the Mower underfoot, on a metaphorical level). Now, as we saw in Marvell's Coronet, the 'treading underfoot' is an image of Christ's triumph over evil at the Last Day: until then His creatures are subjected by the Beast. So, here, the

Mower's subjection to Juliana is to be 'trod underfoot': the obverse of the divine 'treading' that will rescue him and other such victims. It is an Antichristian version of the Christian triumph, just as Juliana is the Antichristian counterpart of Astraea.

For this comically ⁱⁿdiminutive account of an eschatological trope, it should be reme^mbered that the Mower treads flesh (or mankind) when he tramples the 'Grass'; as does Juliana when she treads him. On one level, she has vanquished his 'flesh' (by "lust"), while on another she is treading mankind (flesh in general). Thus the pair represent, in this comic image, the universal subjection of man to Antichrist; and, accordingly, the Mower requires the same kind of release from subjection as that promised for the Last Day.

This oblique approach to the promised emancipation of the Last Day introduces the fourth stanza, in which the desolatio of that Day is anticipated.

But what you [the fields] in Compassion ought,
Shall now in my Revenge be wrought:
And Flow'rs, and Grass, and I and all,
Will in one common Ruine fall.

(iv)

Here the 'one common Ruine' of 'all' anticipates the universal devastation of the Last Day; and the Mower's 'Revenge' foreshadows its retributory function. In this manner the Mower assumes the role of the divine Mower on that Day, who will effect the desolating harvest. As another poet opined,

We talk of harvests; there are no such things,
But when we leave our corn and hay [of flesh]:
There is no fruitfull yeare, but that which brings
The last and lov'd, though dreadfull day.¹³

By anticipating that sublime harvest, the Mower is in a sense sublimating his office.

Moreover, as Juliana has desolated him, so will he be an agent of desolation to the Creation ('And Flow'rs, and Grass, and I and all'); this is the import of the refrain on this occasion. However, desolatio precedes renovatio, and the constructive effect of the Mower's 'revenge' is that it evokes the latter. It, too, is in its degree a costly purgation.

Thus, in the next (and final) stanza, the Mower looks to a renovation:

And thus, ye Meadows, which have been
Companions of my thoughts more green,
Shall now the Heraldry become
With which I shall adorn my Tomb;
For Juliana comes, and She
What I do to the Grass, does to my Thoughts and Me.

(v)

Here the Mower forecasts his own death in the 'common Ruine': this Final Image adumbrates a telos, the individual end which is analogous to the

universal eschaton.

This characteristically "conclusive" character of the Final Image is seconded by its evocation of renovatio. The 'Hopes' of renovation - represented by the 'greenness' of grass in stanza i - are recalled: the 'Companions of my thoughts more green' are to become 'the Heraldry... /With which I shall adorn my Tomb.' That is, the rencontre with 'greenness' requires his death in order to take effect; it is analogous to the renovatio that occurs after the 'common Ruine' of the End. This one 'Tomb' is a part of the 'common Ruine': a personalized enactment of the eschatological pattern. In this manner - by implementing the desolation necessary to renovation - the Mower effects a restoration of the initial 'greenness' of the first stanza, retrieving in his "death" his innocence and salvation. That is, he regains the hope of resurrection - personal renovatio - that he was seen to have lost in the exordium.

For this purpose the Final Image literalizes that convention of love poetry whereby the lover "dies" of love; here that becomes the 'Tomb' of an individual telos, with an eschatological resonance. So, in this stanza, the refrain indicates that "as I destroy the grass, so Juliana destroys me": reflecting his desolatio, and summarizing the progressive implications of the refrain throughout. By undergoing the destruction to which he is driven by the desolating Juliana, the Mower achieves renovation; and thus demonstrates, parabolically, the ultimately fortunate issue of the Antichristian tribulations which afflict mankind in the "season" of Juliana.

the evil is sown, but the destruction thereof is not yet come.
If therefore that which is sown be not turned upside down, and
if the place where the evil is sown pass not away, then cannot it
come that is sown with good.

(2 Esdras iv. 28-9)

The destruction of the 'Grass' here is of that eschatological type.¹⁴

Finally, the eschatological pattern that is combined, in this poem, with the pastoral love-complaint, is framed by one of Marvell's numerological allusions: the poem contains five stanzas, the fifth of which alludes to the renovatio of the Fifth Kingdom. This is proper to a 'Mower' poem, since Christ the Mower wears 'a golden crown' (Rev. xiv. 14), which symbolizes His fifth monarchy at the point of His harvesting.¹⁵ In this manner the poem alludes to the finale of the temporal design of desolatio et renovatio, culminating its teleological analogue to that process. The poem is built upon the eschatological significance of the Mower figure, the ubiquity of which in Marvell's poems is a symptom of his preoccupation: which motivated his choice of this particular figure for the pastoral expression of his theme. The Mower's Song, Damon, and The Mower to the Glowworms are sophisticated pastoral tragi-comedies on the chiliastic theme.

CHAPTER IX

A REVELATION FOR THE REVOLUTION :

Maritime images of the eschaton in poems of the 1650s.

In this chapter I am concerned with a group of poems, all written between 1650 and 1657, which reflect Marvell's political attitudes during those critical years when the English state was transformed. All these poems - Blake, Bermudas, and The Character of Holland - are related to one another by their use of the image of the 'Sea', and its related themes and motifs; an image which they share with The First Anniversary (a poem dating from the same period); to which they will be compared at various points in this Chapter. By his use of maritime motifs in these poems, Marvell relates current political vicissitudes to the pattern of the eschaton: which itself is a source of such motifs.

The Chapter suggests that, in Bermudas, Marvell provided a vision of England's eschatological goal, and in Blake asserted the Latter-Day ideal of Protestant imperium. Such poems of the 1650s as relate to these concerns are, therefore, "Watersheds" - pardoning the pun - in Marvell's perception of current political events.

The first section of the Chapter discusses the theme of sea-power, which was of such importance in English politics at this time: and its connection with the mythology of England as the Fortunate Isles. In the second section these notions are expanded in the light of current images of the Ship of State, the Ark of the Church, and the New Jerusalem; and these images are developed in relation to the growth of navigational expertise and the consequent colonization of the New World. In the third section Blake is examined in that light. In this manner these sections introduce the explication of Marvell's Bermudas in section iv. This consideration of maritime images in these "public" poems of the 1650s introduces the discussion of such images in a "private" poem - The Unfortunate Lover - in the following Chapter.

i. Sea Power and the Fortunate Isles.

During Cromwell's Protectorate, and indeed throughout the 1650s, England was the greatest sea-power in the world¹. It was recognised that her trade and her influence both depended upon her maritime power; and that therefore the navy was vital to her interests. That England was an island was a fact of great importance to Englishmen, from several points of view: it was the source of her special character, as also of her impregnability. It is with the various strands of thought attached to this fact that this section, and the following two sections, are concerned.

The first fact to issue from England's character as an island was that her navy was the source of her international power. 'The Ocean is the Fountain of Command', as Marvell noted in the First Anniversary of 1654 (369). Indeed, as the title of his friend, James Harrington's Oceana suggests, the Sea was by the same token a metaphor for power². In England this function of the Sea, as both source and instrument of power, was also self-reflexive: in the sense that her survival depended upon the defensive power of her navy - at once the means of independence and expansion. Englishmen's sensitivity to this fact remained tender throughout the century. Thus in GP, Marvell quotes Bridgman's urging of naval supply: '"For this being an island, both our safety, our trade, our being, and our well-being, depend upon our forces at sea'" (268). In GP the state of the navy is in fact a major issue, since Marvell (and the Country Party) were convinced that its offensive capabilities were endangered by the misappropriation of supply, as well as by general mismanagement³. Therefore, in GP, he notes the menace of France to English shipping, and - asserting that 'Ships are the defence of an island' - concludes that 'our strength, force, and defence, is our ships'. (364, 383).

His appeal for the refitting and restoration of the navy in GP is seconded, in his Last Instructions, by a bitter diatribe against current politicking at the expense of the fleet: and by a lament of the Chatham naval disaster, at which British vessels were destroyed on inland waters

(311-28, 397-410, 522f.).

There our sick Ships unrigg'd in Summer lay,
 Like molting Fowl, a weak and easie Prey.
 For whose strong bulk Earth scarce could Timber find,
 The Ocean Water, or the Heavens Wind.
 Those Oaken Gyants of the ancient Race,
 That rul'd all Seas, and did our Channel grace.
 The conscious Stag so, once the Forests dread,
 Flies to the Wood, and hides his harmless Head.
 (573-80)

The fate of this once great and powerful navy is an image of England's degeneration, as Marvell views it; the reaction of Monk to this disaster is, in this poem, a representation of that of all who treasure England's true role. Her power, reflected in this navy, once 'rul'd all seas': but is now reduced to 'a weak and easie Prey'. (Just so Marvell portrayed England's vulnerability in GP.) In this "fall of the mighty" England's naval power is compared to the Stag, 'Once the Forests dread', but now 'harmless': an image which recalls the equally timid 'Caledonian Deer' which was used to denote Scots "cowardice" in the Horatian Ode. In both poems a fundamental political weakness is implied by the image. In contrast, Marvell's formulation of England's former glory -- 'Those Oaken Gyants of the ancient Race' -- recalls his characterization of England's heroes, the Fairfaxes, as the 'great Race': whom in Appleton House he compared to the trees that provided the 'Keels' of England's navy. There, as here, England's greatness -- and great Englishmen -- are involved in that symbol and instrument of her power, the navy. Of this fact Marvell was sensible, then, from the 1650s -- in Appleton House, the First Anniversary and other poems -- till his death shortly after the publication of GP.

Related to England's sea-power was her characterization as a special kind of island. Traditionally, Britain was regarded as a manifestation of the mythical 'Fortunate Isles'.⁴ The locus classicus for the motif of the Fortunate Isles was Pliny's Naturalis Historia, in which he had remarked that 'e regione Arrotrebarum promonturi Deorum VI, quas aliqui Fortunatas appellavere' (facing Cape Finisterre are the six Islands of the Gods, which some people have designated the Isles of Bliss).⁵ Often identified with the Canary Islands,⁶ the Fortunate Isles were in fact a typically pliable

conception: since they provided an image of a terrestrial paradise, 'Fortunate' in every respect, which could be - and was - frequently compounded with such other paradises as the Isles of the Blest, the Hesperidean Gardens and the Elysian Fields.⁷ Such a compound is used by Milton:

Or other Worlds they seem'd, or happy Isles,
Like those Hesperian Gardens fam'd of old,
Fortunate Fields, and Groves and flow'ry Vales,
Thrice happy Isles.

(PL. III.567-70)⁸

These conflations of the Fortunate Isles with other terrestrial paradises could also extend to the 'floating islands' (also noted by Pliny),⁹ and the 'flying island' of Macaria¹⁰ - satirized by Swift in Gulliver's Travels, where it became 'Laputa'.¹¹ Such syntheses allowed much exotic reference, as in Milton's passage: and probably derive from the Renaissance mythographer, Comes.¹² The Fortunate Isles display the usual paradisaal qualities of pleasant aspects, effortless plenitude and 'eternal Spring' or Summer:¹³ but they also bear a specific implication of "happiness" - they are 'Thrice happy Isles'. Most important, they were always located in the West, as islands off the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁴ Thus from the beginning of the Renaissance a tradition grew that identified the 'remote islands' of Britain, in the West and off the Atlantic, with the classical Fortunate Isles:¹⁵ an identification which lies behind Shakespeare's eulogy of England as 'This other Eden' in Richard II. It was a notion particularly favoured in Elizabethan poetry, and was associated with England's temperate climate and her fertility.¹⁶

As the Elizabethan historians formulated their version of English history, the identification of England as a Fortunate Isle naturally came to reflect her 'Fortunate' character as the Elect Nation.¹⁷ In this manner Britain's (and the Fortunate Isles') "remoteness" took on the character of an isolation from the sins of the world dominated by Antichrist. Thus, in Appleton House, Marvell's portrayal of England as the isolated 'Garden of the World' has been understood (by Josephine Waters-Bennet)¹⁸ as an image of England as a Fortunate Isle. In fact, the use of this image is a reflex of England's character as the Elect Nation. Just as the Fortunate Isles were, for Milton, 'other Worlds', so for Marvell England was 'another world' because of 'her

distinct Catholick faith'.

This conflation of England as the Elect Nation and as the Fortunate Isle was traditional in the English Renaissance. It was used by poets in conjunction with England's especial naval character, symbolized by her archaic name of 'Albion' - Albion being the son of Neptune, god of the sea.¹⁹ Spenser exemplifies this idea in his description of the marriage of the Thames and the Medway.

There also some most famous founders were
Of puissant Nations, which the world possest;
Yet sonnes of Neptune, now assembled here...
[Among them] mightie Albion, father of the bold
And warlike people, which the Britaine Islands hold.
(FQ. IV.xi. 15)

As Spenser here remarks, England as 'Albion' was the scion of Neptune, and her 'warlike people' were heirs to Neptune's power: naval power, that is. Spenser's stanza is the acknowledged source of a passage in Marvell's Last Instructions,²⁰ where Thames and Medway - the rivers married in Spenser's poem - lament the fate of England's navy at Chatham:

When aged Thames was bound with Fetters base,
And Medway chast ravish'd before his Face,
And their dear Off-spring murder'd in their sight;
...
Sad change, since first that happy pair was wed,
When all the Rivers grac'd their Nuptial Bed;
And Father Neptune promis'd to resign
His Empire old, to their immortal Line!
Now with vain grief their vainer hopes they rue,
Themselves dishonour'd, and the Gods untrue:
And to each other helpless couple moan,
As the sad Tortoise for the Sea does groan.
But most they for their Darling Charles complain:
And were it burnt, yet less would be their pain.
To see that fatal Pledge of Sea-Command;
Now in the Ravisher De-Ruyter's hand,
The Thames roar'd, swouning Medway turn'd her tide,
And were they mortal, both for grief had dy'd.
(743-60)

Here Marvell recalls England's character as heir to the power of the seas; that 'Father Neptune promis'd to resign/ His Empire old' to England, as represented by the 'Line' of Thames and Medway. That power is proper to England's special character,²¹ and both that character and that power are represented by Marvell in this poem as lost due to a Popish regime, and the debility of the navy. Thus, the loss of the Royal Charles has a symbolic import: just as, earlier in the poem, it represented for Monk England's 'sacred' power(611ff.),

so here it is 'that fatal Pledge of Sea-Command'. Lost to the Dutch, it symbolizes the loss of England's naval supremacy. As a concomitant, it represents also a degeneration of England's 'Elect' imperium: a special implication of the ship's name as used by Marvell here. For 'Darling Charles', the heir to Neptune's 'immortal Line', is at once the ship and its eponymous owner Charles II. The King's power is precisely this 'fatal Pledge of Sea-Command', the ship; the descendant of Albion and heir to his 'Empire' has lost that power. That is, Marvell implies that Charles II has allowed the Elect Nation to lose her proper nature and with it her power.

To this his reminiscence of Spenser is related, since Spenser in the FQ was celebrating the Protestant Empire of England under Elizabeth, the prince of the Elect Nation. This Protestant imperium and 'Neptune(s)... Empire' are one and the same; as Marvell noted in Smirke, 'we in England... are under an imperial crown' because England is the Fortunate Isle, 'another world' and Elect Nation (84-5).

Therefore in this poem England is characterized as a Fortunate Island 'ravished' by the Dutch admiral, De Ruyter. England is a virginal Fortunate Isle desired by the invader:

Ruyter the while, that had our Ocean curb'd,
Sail'd now among our Rivers undisturb'd:
Survey'd their Crystal Streams, and Banks so green,
And Beauties e're this never naked seen.
Through the vain sedge the bashful Nymphs he ey'd;
Bosomes, and all which from themselves they hide.
(523-8)

Here England is a virgin whose 'Beauties e're this [were] never naked seen', exposed to the salacious gaze of the invader. These amorous metaphors for the invasion provide a movement towards the explicit characterization of De Ruyter as 'the Ravisher' of England, in line 758. There his "rape" is contrasted to the lawful 'Nuptial Bed' of Thames and Medway, the source of England's power. In the subsequent lines - as De Ruyter sails towards Chatham - England's political "virginity" is linked to her 'Beauties' as the Fortunate Isle.

The Sun much brighter, and the Skies more clear,
He finds the Air, and all things, sweeter here.
The sudden change, and such a tempting sight,
Swells his old Veins with fresh Blood, fresh Delight.
Like am'rous Victors he begins to shave,

And his new Face looks in the English Wave.
 His sporting Navy all about him swim,
 And witness their complaisance in their trim.
 Their streaming Silks play through the weather fair,
 And with inveigling Colours Court the Air.
 While the red Flags breath on their Top-masts high
 Terrour and War, but want an Enemy.
 Among the Shrowds the Seamen sit and sing,
 And wanton Boys on every Rope do cling.
 Old Neptune springs the Tydes, and Water lent:
 (The Gods themselves do help the provident.)
 And, where the deep Keel on the shallow cleaves,
 With Trident's Leaver, and great Shoulder heaves.
Aeolus their Sails inspires with Eastern Wind,
 Puffs them along, and breathes upon them kind.
 With Pearly Shell the Tritons all the while
 Sound the Sea-march, and guide to Sheppy Isle.
 (529-50)

Here, the Dutch invasion becomes a pleasure-cruise, because they 'want an Enemy'. England's navy is unprepared because of her government's folly - an improvidence at which Marvell's sarcasm is aimed, when he notes that 'The Gods themselves do help the provident': in this case, England's enemy. (There is here an ambiguity, indicating that England and 'Providence' are no longer at one.) In particular, 'Neptune' is one of those 'Gods' who aid the Dutch: since he is properly England's arbiter - and so characterized within the poem (749). His defection to the enemy here implies that England has lost her claim to his especial favour. Thus - once again - England's degeneration from her Elect Nationhood, and her debilitated sea-power, are aspects of the same coin.

Similarly, although England is characterized here as the Fortunate Isle, this characterization is subtly used to maintain Marvell's criticism of Charles II's government. Certainly England displays here the 'Crystal Streams', the verdancy ('Banks so green'), the 'brighter' sun and 'clear' air, and kind winds (547) which are characteristic of this terrestrial paradise: 'all things [are] sweeter here' in the Fortunate Isle. However, this beauty serves merely to delight the invader, to emparadise his fleet, and to forward their aims: Aeolus 'breathes upon them kind', speeding them to their work of destruction, while 'the Tritons' guide them to Chatham. What Marvell has done here is to represent a breakage of that vital connection, of England's 'Fortunate' character and her protective navy. Of this breakage Neptune's defection is an enactment. The Fortunate Isle gives 'complaisance' only to the conqueror, and thereby becomes unfortunate.

To render this transformation, Marvell links this passage to his description of the debacle at Chatham by means of a

lyrical "explosion".

So have I seen in April's bud, arise
 A Fleet of Clouds, sailing along the Skies:
 The liquid Region with their Squadrons fill'd,
 The airy Sterns the Sun behind does guild:
 And gentle Gales them steer, and Heaven drives,
 When, all on sudden, their calm bosome rives
 With Thunder and Lightning from each armed Cloud;
 Shepherds themselves in vain in bushes shrowd.
 Such up the stream the Belgick Navy glides,
 And at Sheerness unloads its stormy sides.
 (551-560)

This "apotheosis" of the Dutch fleet is an ironic comment upon England's lost status: 'Heaven' is with the Dutch. They have assumed not only her erstwhile arbiter, Neptune, but also her fortunate character: the passage opened with England's 'Beauties'; in lines 530-550 they were enjoyed by the Dutch; and in these lines those beauties are actually assimilated to the Dutch themselves. By means of this carefully modulated description England's 'fortunate' aspect passes over to the Dutch fleet: their "invasion" is an absorption of her character. By means of this character-transference Marvell conveys the Dutch usurpation of England's role as the foremost naval power.

To critics, the fleet's transformation into a 'fortunate' image may have looked curious at first sight²², but once Marvell's logic is understood the apotheosis of De Ruyter's navy can be seen to participate in his thematic pattern here. Moreover, the vital connection between this 'fortunate' character and maritime power is immediately enforced by the swift transition from apotheosis to destruction: 'all on sudden, their calm bosome rives / With Thunder and Lightning from each armed Cloud'. To assume the 'Fortunate' character is also to become militarily powerful; and this traditional linkage is enacted by the aggression of the 'Fortunate' vessels.

The idea, here, that England surrenders her 'Fortunate' character to the Dutch is fused with an image that recalls the reason for her character as the Elect Nation, or Fortunate Isle. In the passage above she is a virginal beauty 'ravished' by the invader, while at the same time personifying thereby the Fortunate Isle. This personification of England as virgin is developed later in the poem: but its nature has already been implied in Marvell's reminiscence of Spenser, here. Spenser had conflated, in his portrayal of the

virgin Una, England's 'pure' religion and her virgin Queen, Elizabeth. Una as 'Truth' ("one-ness") is divine 'Truth', and as in Milton and Marvell that word means revelation (or 'revealed truth'). Una is, therefore - as 'pure religion' and Virgin Queen - a personification of that compound which was peculiar to the Elect Nation: 'True Worship and True Government', as Marvell called it. To violate her virginity (as the Sans brothers would) is in fact to adulterate the purity of 'True Worship and True Government'. Similarly, in Marvell's poem his reminiscence of Spenser is used to characterize the Protestant imperium of Albion the Fortunate Isle; the ravaging of which is the rape of a virgin England, and 'Medway chast ravish'd'. Marvell has imported Spenser's 'virginal' England to complement her characterization as the Fortunate Isle, and thus to give it an explicitly eschatological resonance.

To this he adds another eschatological image, which is also used by Spenser (as we have seen) to denote Una's enemy. For Marvell designates the Chatham disaster as a 'Black Day! ... / Thee, the Year's monster, let thy Dam devour' (737 - 40): all the assistants of Antichrist are, as I have indicated, traditionally envisaged as 'devourers'. Here England the virgin's fate is so derived, and this characterization introduces the Spenserian reminiscence that immediately follows it.

The image of England as the distressed virgin resurfaces towards the end of the poem, when she appears to Charles II in a dream-vision.

He wakes and Muses of th' uneasie Throne:
 Raise up a sudden Shape with Virgins Face,
 Though ill agree her Posture, Hour, or Place:
 Naked as born, and her round Arms behind,
 With her own Tresses interwove and twin'd:
 Her mouth lockt up, a blind before her Eyes,
 Yet from beneath the veil her blushes rise;
 And silent tears her secret anguish speak,
 Her heart throbs, and with very shame would break.

The Object strange in him no Terrour mov'd:

[And with kind hand does the coy Vision press,
 Whose Beauty greater seem'd by her distress;

...

And he Divin'd twas England or the Peace.

(890 - 906)

Here England the Virgin/Elect Nation reproaches Charles II with the 'anguish' which his policies have brought upon her: her bound arms symbolizing the 'French thraldome' of which

Marvell complained in GP (an inference confirmed in line 914, where 'Lewis' is seen to "call the tune"). Charles' lecherous reaction to the vision mimics De Ruyter's similar attitude to the English Virgin, earlier in the poem; and implies, by the same token, that Charles' regime vitiates the Elect Nation. Here that vitiation is specifically referred to her domination by Papist France, and provides the climax of Marvell's attack upon the government. His resuscitation, here, of the virginal image of England forces an ironic recollection of her earlier appearance at Chatham: there the external enemy 'ravished', here the enemy within is seen to attempt the same.

A similar conflation of the virgin, the Elect Nation, and the Fortunate Isle appears in Britannia and Rawleigh (c.1675), a satire attributed to Marvell and intimating views similar to his; although now it is generally assumed to have been written by a friend or colleague of his.²³ Here 'Britannia' has abandoned England because of her subjugation to the French and other Papists, and the corruption of the Stuarts. She speaks to the ghost of Raleigh, who is used as a reminder of England's eschatological role because of his fame as the author of the History of the World.²⁴ To him Britannia complains of Charles' Antichristian government, symbolized by 'Leviathans and absolute commands' (32). To these she opposes (as Marvell had in Last Instructions) an evocation of Spenser and his Virgin Queen:

The other day fam'd Spenser I did bring
In Lofty Notes Tudors blest reign to sing,
How Spaines prow'd power her Virgin Armes contrould
And Golden dayes in peacefull order rould,
How, like ripe fruit, she dropt from off the Throne
Full of Gray Hairs, good deeds, endless renown.
(42-7)

Here Spenser's Elizabeth is evoked as the Astraeon monarch of 'Golden dayes': the angel of England's golden age of pure religion. She is, naturally, an activist, who triumphed over Antichristian Spain in 1588. To her militantly pure Elect Nation is opposed the Frenchified and pro-Papist Stuart regime (23ff.).

Briefly Charles is regenerated by the vision of Spenser:

Soe the learn'd Bard with Artfull song repress
The swelling Passions of his Cankred breast,
And in his heart kind influences shed
Of Countreys love (by truth and Justice bred).
Then, to confirm the cure so well begun,
To him I shew'd this Glorious setting sun,

How by her Peoples lookes persued from far
 Shee mounted up on a triumphall Car
 Outshining Virgo and the Julian Star.
 (50-58)

This amplification of the Elizabethan exemplum is particularly insistent upon the Astraeon motif: 'truth and Justice' are the revealed Truth and Justice of the Astraeon Elizabeth, which Britannia attempts to inculcate into her successor as ruler of the Elect Nation. Elizabeth is Gloriana ('Glorious'), outshining 'Virgo' and, in another classical Augustan reminiscence, the 'Julian Star' of Augustus' line in its imperial destiny.²⁵ This is an evocation of the Protestant imperium of the Elect Nation, as exemplified - traditionally - by the Astraeon Elizabeth. From this, it is implied, Charles' government has deviated: and thereby corrupted the Elect Nation.

Thus the Spenserian exemplum is extended by the appearance of a Duessa-figure who may counterpoint Elizabeth as Una, the virginal representative of the Elect Nation. This "Duessa" is France, as the Scarlet Whore of Popery and absolutism.

Whilst in truthes Mirror this Glad scene he spy'd,
 Entred a Dame bedeckt with spotted pride;
 Faire flower-deluces in an Azure field
 Her left Arm bears, the Antient Gallick shield
 (By her usurpt), her right a bloody sword
 Inscrib'd Leviathan the sovereign Lord,
 Her Towry front a fiery Meteor bears
 From Exhalation bred of bloud and tears.
 Around her Joves lou'd ravenous Currs complain;
 Pale death, lusts, Horrour fill her pompous train.
 From th'easie King she truthes bright Mirrour took,
 And on the ground in spitefull rage it broak.
 (59-70)

As a Duessan figure of falsity, France the 'Dame' contrasts with England the 'Virgin' nation. As a manifestation of the Popish Scarlet Whore, she is properly invested with that figure's attributes of cruelty ('bloud'), usurpation ('usurpt'), devourer-followers ('ravenous Currs'), lust and spiritual death ('Pale death, lusts, Horrour'). Naturally, she serves the Beast, here given under his Old Testament name, 'Leviathan'.²⁶ She is seconded by false gods and false priests, the impedimenta of Popery (78,85). She promotes the "French thraldome" of England, and specifies its two-handed vitiation of the Elect Nation: 'The Church and State you safely may invade' (93,94-5).

Here, as in Last Instructions, this image of 'invasion' is a deflowering of the virginal Elect Nation: and as such, this

"Duessa" herself describes it.

'Tis Royall Game whole Kingdomes to deflower.
Three spotless virgins to your bed I bring,
A sacrifice to you, their God and King.
(99-101)

Here Charles assumes the role of false 'God' (or quasi-Antichrist), since his alleged absolutism is that to which the Elect Nation's 'virginity' is sacrificed: no longer God's, but Charles' Chosen Nation. Here Charles' reputation as a lecher is harnessed to the image of England's 'deflowering' by the corruption of her 'True Worship and True Government'; as it was harnessed to the same effect in Last Instructions. At the end of the poem England as the virgin becomes also the 'Fortunate blest Isle'; both, as images of the home of reformed religion, are evoked by Britannia in her vision of England's future renovatio:

As Joves great sunn the infested globe did free
From Noxious Monsters, Hellborn tyranny,
Soe shall my England by a Holy Warr
In Triumph lead chaine tyrants from afarr.
Her true Crusado shall at last pull down
The Turkish Crescent and the Persian sun.
Freed by thy labours, Fortunate blest Isle,
The Earth shall rest, the Heavens shall on thee smile.
(185-92)

Here England is envisioned as reviving in her true character: she shall be 'As Joves great sunn', the 'Sun' of Christ the Son from Malachi, which portrays his character as 'righteousness' at the End; and she will prosecute the 'Holy Warr' which is her eschatological role. Having defeated the (traditionally) Antichristian Turks who have invaded Europe, and thereby fulfilled the desolatio of the Latter Days, she will enter upon her renovatio: here represented by her Elect character as the 'Fortunate blest Isle'. Thus once again the true character of England as the Elect Nation is reflected in her characterization as a 'Fortunate... Isle'.

Finally, fully to understand the nature of this characterization it is helpful to glance at the way in which it is treated in Ben Jonson's masque, The Fortunate Isles, and their Union (1626).²⁷ Here King James is identified with Neptune, and the then Prince Charles is Neptune's son Albion. As the British King, James is a personification of sea-power: he is 'Neptune/ The great Commander of the Seas, and Isles'.²⁸ As a sign of Britain's "apotheosis", the 'Fortunate Islands' join

themselves to 'Britania'.²⁹ This synthesis is possible because here the Fortunate Islands are evoked in the specific form of 'Macaria', a 'Floating' island which belongs to their group;³⁰ and which comes to rest in James's Britain.

Hear now the message of the Fates...

That point of Revolution being come

When all the Fortunate Islands should be join'd,

Macaria, one, and thought a Principal,

That hitherto have floated, as uncertain

Where she should fix her Blessings, is to night

Instructed to adhere to your Britania:

That where the Happy Spirits live, hereafter

Might be no question made, by the most Curious,

Since the Macarii come to do you homage,

And join their Cradle to your Continent.³¹

This prediction is enacted by the design of the main masque, in which 'the Island moves forward'.³² This flattering process is inspired by the fact that Macaria, the premier Fortunate Island, is the Isle of the Blest - 'where the Happy Spirits live.' The identification of Macaria with England implies that James is Macar, "the happy or blessed one".³³ So the physical qualities of Macaria are expressions of blessedness:

Macaria, Prince of all the Isles,

Wherein there nothing grows, but smiles,

Doth here put in, to dwell.

The Winds are sweet, and gently blow

But Zephyrs, no breath they know,³⁴

The Father of the Flowers...

Since these paradisal features have a political moral, their description moves into a eulogy of Macaria as a political haven, presided over by James as Neptune.

... the heights of Neptune's honours shine,

And all the Glories of his greater Stile

Are read, reflected in this happiest Isle.

How both the Air, the Soile, the Seat combine

To speak it blessed. These are the true Groves,

Where Joys are born...

There is no Sickness, nor no old Age known

To Man, nor any Grief that he dares own.

There is no Hunger there, nor envy of State,³⁵

Nor least Ambition in the Magistrate.

Here the propagandist aim of the masque becomes evident, revealing the very important point that the Fortunate Isles - especially as 'Macaria' - could provide a useful political metaphor.

As we have seen, the basis of that metaphor is sea-power, a preoccupation of this period.³⁶ Therefore, in this masque, James as 'Neptune' is shown the 'House of Oceanus', the source

of sea-power, which is succeeded in the design by 'the second Perspective, a Sea';³⁷ finally, as the masque draws to a close, 'the Fleet is discovered',³⁸ and thereby the political-maritime metaphor is linked to the real significance of the navy. Here the navy is 'Neptune's strength', the basis of English power:

See yond', his Fleet, ready to go or come,
Or fetch the Riches of the Ocean home,
So to secure him, both in Peace and Wars,
Till not one Ship alone, but all be Stars.³⁹

The character of England as 'Macaria' rests upon this supernal sea-power, wielded by James. In this manner Jonson and Jones treat the characteristic mixture of Fortunate Islands and the domination of the sea.

The third element in this mixture - England's character as an Elect Nation, a Reformation 'Macaria' - is more evident in the original of this masque. In Neptune's Triumph, an unperformed masque from which The Fortunate Isles was adapted,⁴⁰ the motifs of Macarian England and of sea-power were linked to England's Elect character by the symbols of Jones' design: which are evocative of England's reformed nature, and attach to it a "typing" which recalls the 'Prince of Peace' Himself.⁴¹ This type is accorded to Prince Charles on his return to England from Spain, and is intended to give that return an eschatological resonance by the evocation of the other 'Prince' who will 'return' at the Second Coming.⁴² A similar resonance is accorded to James in The Fortunate Isles, since the implication that he is Macar the blessed one is intended to recall the character of Christ the King in His 'blessed' Kingdom.⁴³ Just as, in Britannia and Rawleigh, the nature of England as 'Fortunate blest Isle' is an image of renovatio, so in this masque 'Macaria' performs the same function.

Thus James' character in this masque is a conflation of two traditions. On the one hand, there is a long tradition in English poetry - especially prominent in Elizabethan - which identifies the monarch with the ruler of the sea: in a masque even James' Queen was characterized as 'Bel-Anna', Queen of the ocean, rather than as the reigning queen.⁴⁴ In this respect, myth and political reality had a symbiotic relationship. On the other hand, the use of the 'Isles' motif to render the British Isles as the Chosen Nation of God allowed a combination with the royal myth of sea-dominion, that could

"sanctify" the claims of the monarch.

The "pure" version of Christ as King of the Isles, without monarchical propaganda, can be observed in a sermon delivered to Parliament during the 1640s.

let Gods people comfort themselves in this, that Christ reigns, that Christ sits as King among us... we that live here in the Isles, have we not a portion in this joy and comfort, that we know Christ is King, and reignes among us; let the earth rejoyce, and the multitude of the Isles be glad. 45

The preacher here is invoking Psalm lxxxvii.1, which enjoins:

The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoyce; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof.

- celebrating the final Kingdom. It is this conception of Christ as King of the Isles, of the Elect Nation, that colludes with the monarchical mythology of James as Neptune in The Fortunate Isles ('Prince of all the Isles'). As I shall be discussing in the next section, the association between Macaria/the Fortunate Isles and the renovatio/Kingdom Age remained significant in the 1650s: and, as we saw, in the 1670s too it was still current (in Britannia and Rawleigh). The admixture of Fortunate Isles, Elect Nation and maritime power was a constant.

ii. Taking Ship for the New Jerusalem

In the 1640s and 50s this characteristic admixture was capable of combination with other current "maritime" themes - like the Ark of the Church and the Ship of State - which carried equally significant political moralitates; most particularly because the politics of chiliasm were concerned with the renovatio which, as I have indicated, Macaria could symbolize.

Some of the metaphors with which this discussion must begin may seem both traditional and familiar, but in the hands of Puritan chiliasts they assumed certain special features. First, to Puritans (among others) life was a 'voyage':⁴⁶ an idea which in older forms saw 'heaven' as the destination of the voyage. This idea appears in Marvell's Dialogue Between the Soul and Body, in which the Soul is 'ready oft the Port to gain' of Heaven (29). This central idea was elaborated upon in ways which linked all the features of a voyage to the spiritual experience of the individual believer. One such work was Anthony Nixon's The Christian Navy; 'wherein is playnely described the perfit course to sayle to the Hauen of eternall

happinesse' (London, 1602). Here the 'ship' of the Soul negotiates the 'Tempests' of life and the 'rockes' of spiritual temptation, as it pursues its course to heaven through the 'sea' which is the World.⁴⁷ A similar pattern is detailed by Thomas Adams' The Spiritual Navigator Bound for the Holy Land (1615), in which man is a sailor and the world a perilous sea: 'The World is... a mysticall Sea'.⁴⁸

By the 1640s one of the emphases of this 'spiritual voyage' had changed. For Nixon and Adams the port of destination was 'heaven': in the 1640s the 'port' was specifically the 'new heaven', or New Jerusalem; the voyage had become emphatically eschatological. Thus one chiliast, urging activism to inaugurate the Last Day, evokes the 'port' of renovation:

we should love the appearance of Christ... and haste to the coming of the day of God [2 Peter iii]... Shall the Marriner desire his Port?... and shall not the Christian long for that day which removes every sorrow, supplies every want... ?⁴⁹

Here the 'Port' is specifically that of the New Jerusalem, place of resurrection and renovation.

The same specific emphasis was adopted in Puritan treatment of the Ship of State. This classical image⁵⁰ became, during the controversy that preceded the Civil War, a metaphor in the armoury of the Parliamentarian side; it was argued that if the mariners of a ship could depose an incompetent captain, a people could depose their king.⁵¹ This justification of the Revolution was recalled by Marvell in The First Anniversary, where the 'lusty Mate' (Cromwell) rescues the storm-tossed Ship of State.⁵²

So have I seen at Sea, when whirling Winds,
Hurry the Bark, but more the Seamens minds,
Who with mistaken course salute the sand,
And threat'ning Rocks misapprehend for Land;
While baleful Tritons to the shipwrack guide.
And Corposants along the Tacklings slide.
The Passengers all weary'd out before,
Giddy, and wishing for the fatal Shore;
Some lusty Mate, who with more careful Eye
Counted the Hours, and ev'ry Star did spy,
The helm does from the artless Steersman strain,
And doubles back unto the safer Main.
What though a while they grumble discontent,
Saving himself he does their loss prevent.
(265-78)

This passage, part of Marvell's explication of Cromwell's status, prefixes his definition of a constitutional power lying between democratic anarchy and absolutist 'Tyranny' (279-82); it is a justification of Cromwell's Protectorate, which has rescued the 'Giddy' people from their own confusion. In a sense, therefore,

it reverses the revolutionay image: the 'Passangers' have been re-submitted, this time to a 'lusty Mate' in place of a Captain. Marvell does not toe the extreme Parliamentarian line here, but rather celebrates Cromwell as the "king who is not a king": in accordance with the poet's constitutional beliefs.

After the Revolution had been effected, the Puritan image of the Ship of State took on the eschatological emphasis that I have mentioned. Now the goal of the State was reformation and renovation: the establishment of the New Jerusalem in England. For the New Jerusalem was the fulfilment of the thousand-year reign (or millennium) of Christ with his Saints: the Saints themselves were to be the rulers of the earth. (Rev. v.10; xx.4). Thus a divine had told the Army leaders in 1647 that it was their responsibility to establish the 'new heavens and new earth':

the nations shall become the nations of Christ, and the government shall be in the hands of the Saints... This is the great work, Right Honourable, that God calls for at your hands, whom he hath raised up for that end.⁵³

The House of Commons was given a similar directive by its preachers.⁵⁴ Once in power, the Parliamentarians - conscious of their national goal as the Saints - set their Ship of State on course for the New Jerusalem.

Their Ship of State had another aspect peculiar to itself, and equally eschatological in impulse. For them the State and the Church were united in their struggle for reform and their goal of renovatio, when the Saints would rule and the Church triumph; for religion and politics had a symbiotic relationship. As Marvell put it, the proper equation was 'True Worship and True Government' - and the Rule of the Saints necessarily required such a combination. Since early times the Church had been symbolized by a Ship,⁵⁵ which for Puritans became the Ark of the Church Militant. Herbert's eponymous poem envisages that Ark pressing its way ever Westward - the location of "sunset" and thus of the Last Day, pursued by tribulation and persecution which enforce that westward movement.⁵⁶ Of this image Marvell made use in Appleton House, and also in The Character of Holland (1653); recalling 'when Religion did it self imbarke,/ And from the East would Westward steer its Ark' (67-8). In Puritan political thought the Church and the State were on the same journey, and this sympathy identified the Ship of State and the Ark of the Church in the voyage of reformation.⁵⁷ Thus,

referring to this combined ship, a divine urged the courageous prosecution of reformation: 'remember Christ is with us... if Christ be in the ship with us, it cannot sink'.⁵⁸ Similarly, meditating upon the parallel between the Old Israel's crossing of the Red Sea to Canaan and the New Israel's voyage to the New Jerusalem, a Parliamentarian pamphlet asserted that

Israel now, as in old time, is marching towards a Promised Land, the Sea is before, the mountains on each side, a proud Adversary [Antichrist, the modern counterpart of Pharaoh] behind them... The Sea opens now, the waters cleave in sunder, to give Israel passage.⁵⁹

The New Israel voyages through the Latter Days, a ship in which godly Church and godly State are fused.

Since their destination is eschatological, the sea through which they voyage is both the World (as traditionally) - spatial - and the sea of Time. The Ark sails 'Westward' both in time and in space, the location of "sunset" being the Last Day of time. The image of the sea or the waters as Time complements the notion of the voyage of life, as well as that of the voyage of Church and State in time.

In this fashion Marvell opens his vision of England's voyage to renovatio under Cromwell's guidance, in The First Anniversary. The poem is set in its eschatological context by the image, in the exordium, of the "waters of Time".

Like the vain Curlings of the Watry maze,
Which in smooth streams a sinking Weight does raise;
So Man, declining alwayes, disappears
In the weak Circles of increasing Years;
And his short Tumults of themselves Compose,
While flowing Time above his Head does close.

(1-6)

These waters of Time are the location of the Ship of State and Church. Only Cromwell's 'greater Vigour' (7), his mastery of Time, can affect this 'flowing Time' under which other men 'sink'. So, at the end of the poem, the Final Image returns to the watery metaphor to show how Cromwell alone can activate the waters: 'And as the Angel of our Commonweal,/ Troubling the Waters, yearly mak'st them Heal'. As we saw in Chapter VII, the 'Waters' here are also an image of the State, as they are in The Character of Holland of the previous year.⁶⁰ Time and the State share the same "watery" metaphor; in this fashion the image becomes self-reflexive, since the Ship of State thereby sails upon the waters of the-State-in-Time. This compound is less confusing if one recognizes that the Ship of State sails through the "political" waters; and, simultaneously, through the waters

of Time to the Last Day. This fact is extremely important for other Marvellian poems, as we shall see later in this chapter.

The eschatological goal of this maritime effort was not seen merely in metaphorical terms. The Puritan chiliastic version of Renaissance utopianism⁶¹ was a matter of practical projects: not only in the areas of governmental and theocratic reform, but also in sciences of all kinds. Daniel had promised, as reformist scientists interpreted it, an acceleration of 'revelation' in the Latter Days: whereby men's knowledge would be spectacularly increased. (This notion was a development of the general view that the Last Day would fully elucidate the 'unrevealed' things.) From this belief the Puritan expansion of scientific studies in the Seventeenth Century took its energy; the New Jerusalem was to be a place where man controlled his environment.⁶² Accordingly, this vision of a scientific renovatio was "read back" into current projects. Thus even

Utopian town planners drew up their schemes with reference to the physical features of the city of Jerusalem... even the most scanty biblical materials [were pressed into service]... This was not merely an academic exercise; the reconstructions were presented in such terms as to provide an inducement to action; rewards were described in terms that were congenial to the mentality of the seventeenth century.

This literal apprehension of the nature of the New Jerusalem was all-pervasive: it was the model for Milton's Paradise in PL. IV, for instance, as the same historian notes.⁶³

The relationship between a "real" New Jerusalem and these concepts of progress and reform was cemented by the imperative of activism; it was recognized that the New Jerusalem must be built by the Saints.⁶⁴ This was the civil aspect of the active dynamics of the Holy War. Therefore, especially in the 1650s, many chiliasts issued manifestoes of reform - reform at all levels, from domestic economy and agriculture to international affairs. Many of these reformers were the heirs of Bacon, who after exerting a negligible influence in the early decades of the century had, in the 1650s, a major impact upon Puritan thought.⁶⁵ His utopian New Atlantis (1626)⁶⁶ had provided a vision of the reformed "scientific paradise"; locating it on an island to the West, in the proper region for renovatio. The islanders themselves call their paradise 'Bensalem', and their scientific academy is named 'Salomon's House'. The nomenclature recalls the Temple's builder, who is the model for all modern builders of the 'Temple' of Reformation; that of 'Bensalem'

provides an eschatological character for this paradise. For, describing the Kingdom of Christ - the New Jerusalem - a divine of the 1640s explained that

Christ is first Melchisedec King of righteousness, his government is a righteous government; and then King of Salem, King of peace, a government accompanied with abundance of inward joy and peace.⁶⁷

Christ the Fifth King is distinguished by 'peace and righteousness': the compound derived from Psalm lxxxv, which characterized the renovatio or New Jerusalem. He was, of course, the 'Prince of Peace' who halted the 'wars' of the Latter Days: here 'King of Salem, King of peace'. This 'Salem', the New Jerusalem, is the inspiration of Bacon's 'Bensalem'. His version of the New Jerusalem in this work - as the practical paradise distinguished by 'peace' - was a model for several similar chiliast utopias in the 1650s.⁶⁸

This chiliast utopianism revived the myth of the Fortunate Isles and Macaria. As we have seen, this myth was capable of providing a formulation for renovatio - especially for the renovation of the Elect Nation. Moreover, both in The Fortunate Isles and in Neptune's Triumph Macaria was associated with 'Peace': in this case, with James' pacifist foreign policy.⁶⁹ The same emphasis upon 'peace' appeared in Britannia and Rawleigh, where 'The Earth shall rest' after England's return to her character as the 'Fortunate blest Isle'.

This identification of the Fortunate Isles/Macaria with the New Jerusalem/renovatio is made most explicit in a work of 1641, A Description of the famous Kingdome of Macaria, shewing its excellent government, by the reformer and chiliast, Samuel Hartlib. An heir of the Baconian utopian tradition, Hartlib with his friends produced numerous projects of reform directed at all levels of the national life; and he had naturally included an exposition of Revelation amongst his other publications.⁷⁰ His Macaria is an utopian work, intended to inform Parliament of the proper means and aims of reformation. His exposition of the character and government of the mythical kingdom of Macaria is therefore urged as an exemplary model upon which England may base her construction of the New Jerusalem. As the title-page informs Hartlib's readers, Macaria is a paradise where

The Inhabitants live in great Prosperity, Health, and Happinesse; the King obeyed, the Nobles honoured; and all good men respected, vice punished, and vertue

rewarded. An Example to other Nations.

This physical and political 'Example' Hartlib presses upon Parliament as proper to their renovatory project in the Latter Days.

Whereas I am confident, that this Honorable Court will lay the Corner Stone of the Worlds happinesse before the final recesse thereof, I have ventured to cast in my widoes mite into the Treasurie; not as an Instructor, or Counsellour, to this Honourable Assembly, but have delivered my conceptions in a Fiction, as a more mannerly way, having for my pattern Sir Thomas Moore, and Sir Francis Bacon.⁷¹

Here, acknowledging Parliament's role as activator of the New Jerusalem in England, Hartlib explains the function of the Macarian myth: it provides for the vision of renovatio 'a Fiction, as a more mannerly way'. Moreover, as Hartlib is careful to remind his readers, such a mythic format places his work in the utopian tradition of More and Bacon. As in Jonson's masques, the Last Instructions, and Britannia and Rawleigh, the Macarian myth bears associations which give an attractive form to propaganda.

Hartlib's Macaria is rendered as a dialogue between 'a Traveller' - who has visited that mythic land - and a 'Scholar', whom the former convinces that Macaria is a suitable model for England's reformation. The Traveller offers his experience to Parliament, which is 'generally bent to make a good reformation, but that they have some stops and hinderances'.⁷² Essentially Macaria is at once a physical and a political paradise. It is 'this happy Country',⁷³ developed by agricultural projects - 'by which meanes the whole Kingdome is become like to a fruitfull Garden'.⁷⁴ It has a plain religion, a constitutional government, and a prosperous economy.⁷⁵ There is a permanent peace there, guaranteed by military strength:⁷⁶ the peace proper to renovation and indeed necessary to constructive reformation. Therefore, noting the Latter-Day conflicts on the Continent, Hartlib's traveller urges strength through reformation: 'Why should not all the inhabitants of England joyne with one consent, to make this countrey to be like to Macaria, that is numerous in people, rich in treasure and munition, that so they may be invincible?'.⁷⁷ This might and defensive security of the Fortunate Isle is, as we have seen, integral to its conception at this time. Similarly, Hartlib emphasizes the necessity of activism for the construction of the New Jerusalem: the Scholar remarks that men need only be willing

and active if they are to 'obtaine our desires, to make England to bee like to Macaria... so wee and our posterity shall bee all happie.'⁷⁸ This is a practical and realisable project, 'easie to be effected.'⁷⁹

Macaria is, then, an image of 'how the Kingdome of England may be happy':⁸⁰ the Macarian myth is a vision of what England may be, an ideal and renovated state. As the Fortunate Isles, Britain's "remoteness" became a reflection of her special character: 'Oute from the worlde yet on the ground, even in a place of blisse', 'a new world beyond the ocean.'⁸¹ In the complete pattern of its associations - Election, renovation, might, the progress to the New Jerusalem - Macaria the Fortunate Isle could be combined with the chiliastic metaphors for State, Church and Sea. For such a combination Bacon's New Atlantis provided a partial precedent, since it envisaged a reformed "alternative" Britain at the edge of the ocean - a Fortunate Isle; but the complete combination was not realised until Marvell wrote his Bermudas, as we shall see. The varied permutations of these metaphors are also displayed in Blake and - as I indicated above - The Last Instructions. With these poems, and their use of these metaphors, the following sections are concerned.

iii. New Worlds Won at Sea: 'Blake'

The Fortunate Islands appear most readily in Marvell's poetry within the narrative of his celebration of Admiral Blake's exploits, in On the Victory obtained by Blake over the Spaniards (1657). In order to understand the function of the Macarian image in this poem, it is necessary first to explicate contemporary attitudes to the New World: which were determined by eschatological belief.

It was understood that the discovery of the New World was itself a Sign of the Latter Days. For the improved art of navigation that facilitated that discovery was believed to be part of the general expansion of knowledge and science - the accelerated revelation - which God vouchsafed to men in the Last Age; and the recent geographical discoveries were themselves 'revelations' for this particular moment in history.⁸² As Bacon put it, it was 'as if the openness and thorough passage of the world and the increase of knowledge were appointed to be in the same ages... these latter times.'⁸³ Thus the discovery of America, unknown for so many centuries, was considered a sign of the special revelation accorded to the Latter Days⁸⁴.

Moreover, the consequent appearance of new territories, capable of acquisition, was associated with the concept of the universal Protestant Empire, which was to rise in the Latter Days. It was understood that the newly discovered lands portended this new imperium, since God had reserved their revelation until the moment should be ripe for the establishment of that imperium⁸⁵. With this idea was linked the Astraeon character of Elizabeth I, which was the image of ^{her} role as the Protestant Emperor. Thus, Frances Yates has explained that 'The reformed Virgo representing the pure imperial religion is also the British Virgo aspiring to empire through sea-power'⁸⁶; for, in order to create the universal Protestant Empire, it was necessary to dominate the New World by naval power⁸⁷. In this manner British sea-power came to be seen as the instrument of Protestant imperialism: of the victory of the true religion in the Latter Days.

The Protestant imperium was at once an expression of nascent English nationalism⁸⁸, and the inspiration of Protestant internationalism. Chiliasm involved a global view of religion, for Protestants (of whatever nations) were all involved in a united struggle against Antichrist⁸⁹. All Protestants must

help to advance Christs Kingdome in others, to help to lift up Christ and set up his scepter over all the World. God has promised to give Christ the Nations for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the Earth for his possession: tis a great work ... to set up his Kingdome, so as Christ may come to inherit the Nations, and to possesse the uttermost⁹⁰ parts of the Earth.

As Parliament was here enjoined by one of its preachers, it was the portion of the Saints to claim for Christ's Kingdom 'the uttermost parts of the Earth'. In this manner they viewed the newly-discovered 'uttermost' regions; the acquisition and colonization of which enlisted the combined force of Protestant imperialism and English nationalism.

In these new lands England fought the same Holy War that was prosecuted in the European theatre. The expansion of Spain and other Papist nations in the New World was seen as an extension of the Antichristian threat: the new lands were to be rescued from Antichristian Spain and subsumed into the Protestant imperium⁹¹. Hatred and fear of the Spanish was as strong in the mid-1600s

as it had been in the reign of Elizabeth, bolstered by political, religious and economic factors⁹². It was even believed that the Papist Spanish threat was as acute within England as without, and that Spain fomented domestic conspiracies⁹³. According to current Puritan analyses, Spain was assaying an Antichristian universal empire, the obverse of Protestant imperium⁹⁴: and thus two imperialist efforts clashed in the new territories.

On the holy expansionism of England all her Protestant parties were - for once - agreed: all were united in pro-colonial and anti-Spanish aims⁹⁵. The clergy were at this time the most effective vehicle of propaganda, and they urged these policies constantly and insistently⁹⁶; and in this they were seconded by that popular travelogue, Purchas His Pilgrimage, which issued dire warnings against the monopoly of Spain in the New World⁹⁷.

Purchas also urges, as the instrument of an English victory over Spain, the power of the English navy: proving from historical examples that a large navy is the source of world power⁹⁸. In the reign of James this lesson was taken to heart - indeed, we have seen some examples of its influence in the masques. Puritans in particular were convinced that the war against Antichristian Spain must be fought at sea, since (especially as a consequence of the Armada's defeat) it was believed that England's greatest successes were always naval⁹⁹.

For the supply of raw materials for the required ships, Purchas recommended England's colony of Virginia; it being his brief to urge colonization¹⁰⁰. The general Puritan enthusiasm for the 'plantation' of the New World, and of the New England in particular, had a strong chiliastic motive. For it was their opinion that God had reserved these regions for 'his Englishmen'; He had kept Virginia, Bermuda and Guiana for England with a providential care, and their settlement would be a fulfilment of His will¹⁰¹. Thus, when Lewis Hughes reported in 1615 the character of the Bermudas he redeemed their previously poor reputation - they had been thought abodes of the devil - by relating it to God's reservation of the islands for the English: 'God hath terrified and kept all people of the world from coming into these Ilands to inhabit them'¹⁰². God's timing of His 'revelation' of these islands was intended to give them into England's hands.

As parts of the Protestant imperium, Virginia and Bermuda were extensions of England: Purchas calls them 'Daughters of England', 'Virginia and the Summer Ilands [Bermudas] seeme to this English body as two American hands, eares, feete.'¹⁰³ By such analogies pro-colonists like Purchas encouraged the idea that Virginia and Bermuda were constituent parts of a greater England, 'Wholly English'¹⁰⁴. This idea of a nation extended, of which these possessions were not mere appendages but integral parts, was of great significance for the way in which these colonies were regarded.

For the New World was considered a 'promised land' for the English. As I have indicated, the Ark of the Church Militant was believed to move ever westward: and these colonies provided it with a geographical destination, the 'Western Canaan'¹⁰⁵. For the New Israel this was a new Promised Land, divinely ordained for them just as Canaan had been reserved for the Old Israel¹⁰⁶. Thus Purchas, drawing the parallel with the Old Israel, portrayed the Americas as both the figura of the New Jerusalem and a present terrestrial paradise:

First Religion ... inviteth us there [the Americas] to seeke the Kingdome of God first, and all other things shall be ministred to us, and added as advantage to the bargaine: seeke the Kingdome of God, and see an earthly Kingdome in recompence, as the earnest, and the heavenly Kingdome for our full paiment.... glorifying God in his word and workes in¹⁰⁷ this designe.

Thus Purchas presented the colonies as offering rewards both here and hereafter; a combination of both material and spiritual prosperity calculated for maximum appeal. That combination was true to the generally mixed motives of this expansion, where considerations of religion and trade went hand in hand.¹⁰⁸

As a result of these emphases outlined above, Virginia and the Bermudas represented at once a New Jerusalem for the English, and (appropriately) 'another England'. 'Englands out of England are here presented', 'New Britaines in another World.'¹⁰⁹ The New Jerusalem had moved further westward; the chiliastic literature inspired by the Americas implied that the New Jerusalem which men were seeking to build in England could be found in her colonies.¹¹⁰ This, too, is extremely significant - particularly for Marvell - since it meant that the vision of the Americas could provide a "transferred image" of England the New Jerusalem; they could be used as an image reflecting back upon

England herself. This, as I shall be indicating in the next section, is the function of the location used in Marvell's Bermudas. From several points of view, then, the Americas were a "Britain in the West."

This fact had certain ramifications for the myth of the Fortunate Isles also. As the figura of the Elect Nation in renovatio - the New Jerusalem in England - they too were transferable to the Americas. Moreover, by moving westward they regained their proper character as geographically "remote" islands; and the "newness" of the western lands lent greater emphasis to the Macarian figure for the New Jerusalem. Similarly, the pleasant nature of the Bermudan islands (though not of Virginia, which was notoriously inhospitable) could provide a real counterpart of the paradisal Fortunate Islands.

All these potentialities were implemented in Marvell's Bermudas. Before discussing that poem, however, I wish to examine Marvell's reflection of the Protestant imperium and of its naval instrument, in Upon the Victory obtained by Blake, The First Anniversary, and The Character of Holland. In the latter poem Marvell asserts God's providential care of the English navy. There the Dutch are seen to turn tail,

While the Sea laught it self into a foam,
'Tis true since that (as fortune kindly sports,)
A wholesome Danger drove us to our Ports.
While half their banish'd keels the Tempest tost,
Half bound at home in Prison to the frost.
That ours mean time at leizure might careen,
In a calm Winter, under Skies Serene.
As the obsequious Air and Waters rest,
Till the dear Halcyon hatch out all its nest.
The Common wealth doth by its losses grow;
And, like its own Seas, only Ebbs to flow.
Besides that very Agitation laves,
And purges out the corruptible waves.

And now again our armed Bucentore
Doth yearly their Sea-Nuptials restore...
Their Tortoise wants its vainly stretched neck;
Their Navy all our Conquest or our Wreck.

(122-40)

Here England's navy is restored, and subsequently victorious, because of a Providential care: decreeing a 'Wholesome Danger'. As for the individual Saint, this is a quietist "interval" for the Godly navy: encapsulated, as usual, by the words 'mean time' (127) and 'Now... now' (135,137). Like all such "intervals", it is a restorative: like the 'Common wealth' itself, the Holy Navy has undergone a fortunate desolatio - a 'wholesome Danger' -

which 'purges' (134). This providential pattern issues, naturally, in triumph: 'all our Conquest'. Here, as for Englishmen in general, their navy is the source of their power and the instrument of their success. (Just as, in Last Instructions, the debilitation of the navy was an expression of the nation's corruption, and naval defeat a presage of the Elect Nation's ruin.)

This characterization of the Godly navy is, in the First Anniversary of the following year, related to the idea of a Protestant imperium. In this poem the 'kings of the earth' - Europe's slothful monarchs - express their wonder at the power of the English navy. The English can, they say,

Yet rig a Navy while we dress us late;
And ere we Dine, rase and rebuild their State.
What Oaken Forrests, and what golden Mines!
What Mints of Men, what Union of Designes!
Unless their Ships, do, as their Fowle proceed
Of shedding Leaves, that with their Ocean breed.
Theirs are not Ships, but rather Arks of War,
And beaked Promontories sail'd from far;
Of floting Islands a new Hatched Nest;
A Fleet of Worlds, of other Worlds in quest;
An hideous Shole of wood-Leviathans,
Arm'd with three Tire of brazen Hurricans;
That through the Center shoot their thundring side.
And sink the Earth that does at Anchor ride.
What refuge to escape them can be found,
Whose watry Leaguers all the world surround?
Needs must we all their Tributaries be,
Whose Navies hold the Sluces of the Sea.
The Ocean is the Fountain of Command,
But that once took, we Captives are on Land.
And those that have the Waters for their share,
Can quickly leave us neither Earth nor Air.

(351-72)

As the first couplet indicates, England's navy is an expression of her energy - the zeal (like Cromwell's own) of the militant Chosen Nation contrasted with 'Sloth' of the 'kings of the earth' - which has been established earlier in the poem. This is the national counterpart of Cromwell's 'greater Vigour' as the Elect Prince; so it is suitable that this passage runs into a eulogy of his power on the international scene (l.373ff.). This passage provides a climax to the poem's portrayal of Cromwell's and England's international eschatological role, stating the nature of the Protestant imperium.

For this statement, first, England's 'State' and her 'Navy' are identified: her 'Oaken Forrests' are at once

those of her landscape and the massed masts of her ships, and this identification is based upon the general equation of the State and 'Waters' which is found in this poem, as elsewhere in Marvell's works. (It also glances back at the poem's Ship of State image.) This fact is related to the premise, stated here, that 'The Ocean is the Fountain of Command'. And this premise provides the basis of a Protestant imperial idea, that the English Navy founds that imperium: 'Needs must we all their Tributaries be,/ Whose Navies hold the Sluces of the Sea.' Thus the navy is to be the instrument of English imperialism, whereby the Antichristian 'kings of the earth' will be subdued in the interest of Protestant universalism. Therefore this navy is at once aggressive and exploratory, extending the imperium to the New World: it is 'A Fleet of Worlds, of other Worlds in quest.' In this manner these ships properly reflect the nature of the 'floating' or Fortunate Islands, being themselves 'floting Islands'. Here, then, The First Anniversary asserts the characteristic features of Protestant imperium, which "sanctified" the Commonwealth's naval supremacy and justified its imperialist ambitions.

This notion of the holy imperium also underlies Marvell's third and last poem on Cromwell, A Poem upon the Death of O.C. (1658); there Cromwell is, as Elect Prince, also the 'Monarch' of the 'Seas':

Stand back ye Seas, and shrunk beneath the vail
Of your Abyesse, with cover'd Head bewail
Your Monarch...
Since him away the dismal Tempest rent,
Who once more joyn'd us to the Continent;
Who planted England on the Flandrick shoar,
And stretch'd our frontire to the Indian Ore;
Whose greater Truths obscure the Fables old,
Whether of British Saints or Worthy's told;
And in a valour less'ning Arthur's deeds,
For Holyness the Confessor exceeds.
He first put Armes into Religions hand...
(167-79)

Here appears the characteristic combination of "holy war", Protestant imperium, and sea-power. Cromwell is the champion of the Elect Nation, who 'first put Armes into Religions hand'; and he thereby outdoes all earlier British heroes, since his is a "chosen" heroism - as the preceding paragraph, apostrophizing him as 'Heavens Favorite', makes clear. In this character he constructed the imperium; for by 'joyn(ing) us to the Continent' he has achieved a

unification of Protestant nations, necessary to the universal idea. And this imperium has extended even as far as 'the Indian Ore'. Fundamental to this assertion of imperium is Cromwell's characterization, here, as 'Monarch' of the 'Seas'; once again, naval supremacy is the basis of this "holy" imperialism.

In a poem written in the previous year, On the Victory obtained by Blake over the Spaniards, in the Bay of Santacruze, in the Island of Teneriffe, 1657, Marvell portrays an incident which crystallizes the themes of Protestant imperium. This poem has long lain under a critical cloud, usually considered uninspired and often ignored completely.¹¹¹ This neglect has been partly due to a distaste for the poem's manner; it is certainly the most Wallerian of Marvell's poems in that respect. However, the themes of the poem are characteristically Marvellian: and it is critical impercipient towards these themes that has caused the general neglect of the poem.

These themes arise from the specific occasion of the poem: the naval engagement in which Blake's ships destroyed a Spanish treasure-fleet returning from the New World, in their own harbour at Teneriffe in the Canary Islands. Marvell's celebration of this action is not purely propagandist - as has been alleged¹¹² - but rather records a present victory in the struggle to establish a Protestant imperium; and such propaganda as is present in the poem is in fact entailed by the compound of nationalism and internationalism which subserves that imperium. Puritan imperialist literature tended to this "holy propaganda". Moreover, interwoven with Marvell's assertion in Blake of the idea of Protestant imperium are appropriate themes of renovatio, the ultimate goal of this chiliastic imperialism. The poem also displays a fully integrated vision of the elements required for that imperium: naval supremacy, expansionism, victory over Antichrist, and the vision of the Fortunate Isles. Of all these motifs the engagement at Santacruze provided Marvell with a crystallizing occasion: the features of the engagement, indeed, allowed him a fortuitously apposite opportunity to render them all.

The poem is addressed to Cromwell, an address which is pertinent to its imperialist assertions. Similarly, the engagement which provides its narrative is a concrete

example of current policy directed at the attainment of Protestant imperium. For, as I have indicated, it was believed that the war with Spain should be fought at sea - a policy sanctified by the example of England's victory over the Papist enemy's Armada in 1588; a victory which is echoed by that at Santacruze in this poem. Moreover, such shipments of New World plate as that portrayed in the poem were a vital element in this policy.

On the seas England could give the law to Spain; therefore, England ought to choose that means rather than the more wasteful method of fighting a land war in Europe... [and] The argument ran that Spain, for all its ambitions, was not fearfully strong in itself; Spain's strength was considerable only as long as New World gold and silver supplied the Spanish treasury. Without that constant supply Spain could not pay the great land armies... and thus Spanish power would be destroyed. England, consequently, had to attack Spain's source of strength, which was thought to be easily susceptible to the actions of the English navy. The navy, even if it did not capture or sink the treasure fleets, would pose such a grave threat that Spain would be required to provide prohibitively expensive convoys, which inevitably would beggar Spain and bring about the desired destruction of the enemy.¹¹³

In the light of this policy Blake's destruction of a large Spanish treasure-fleet was a massive blow against the Antichristian-imperial enemy, and thus a victory in the furtherance of the alternative Protestant imperium.

Thus Marvell begins his account of that victory with a portrait of Spain's 'Tyrann(ous)' imperial ambitions and 'guilt(y)' dominion in the New World; both aspects being represented by the treasure-fleet itself.

Now does Spains Fleet her spacious wings unfold,
Leaves the new World and hastens for the old:
But though the wind was fair, they slowly swoome
Frayted with acted Guilt, and Guilt to come:
For this rich load, of which so proud they are,
Was rais'd by Tyranny, and rais'd for War;
Every capacious Gallions womb was fill'd,
With what the Womb of wealthy Kingdomes yield,
The new Worlds wounded Intrails they had tore,
For wealth wherewith to wound the old once more.

(1-10)

Here Marvell recalls the object of English policy, Spain's maintenance of her armies by means of the New World's riches: the fleet's is a 'rich load... rais'd for War', 'new Worlds ... wealth wherewith to wound the old [World] once more.' This is an improper use of dominion, rifling the 'Womb' of

the New World: this fleet therefore represents 'Guilt', 'Tyranny' and aggression ('War'). It is the instrument of a robber-imperialism, of an Antichristian imperium which desolates the New World.

Therefore it is immediately contrasted with its Protestant counterpart, the sea-borne 'Empire' of England. The Spanish sail in fear of Cromwell's navy:

For now upon the Main, themselves they saw,
That boundless Empire, where you [Cromwell] give the Law,
Of winds and waters rage, they fearful be,
But much more fearful are your Flags to see...
They dreaded to behold, Least the Sun's light,
With English Streamers, should salute their sight.
(13-20)

Here the English monopoly on God's favour is indicated by their attribute of the 'Sun's light' - that is, the 'light' or revelation of Christ the Son, as He will appear at the End. And this 'boundless Empire' is the sea-dominion of Protestant imperium, asserted and maintained by England's navy: here contrasted to the "Guilt-fraught" navy of the Antichristian power. Later in the poem the Elect Nation's holy supremacy at sea is reiterated, in the Spaniards' fright at the English Fleet's supernatural hardiness:

To fight against such Foes, was vain they knew,
Which did the rage of Elements subdue:
Who on the Ocean that does horror give,
To all besides, triumphantly do live.
(85-88)

In this manner the Spaniards themselves almost acquiesce in their defeat, thereby acknowledging England's hegemony on the sea: an acknowledgement which, indeed, involves also the recognition that England's imperium (figured by her sea-power) is the true and legitimate imperium. Thus, in the opening passage, the Spanish navy - figure of the false imperium - is portrayed as a trespasser. 'For now upon the Main, themselves they saw,/ That boundless Empire, where you give the Law.' If 'the Main' is England's by right, then the Spaniards trespass merely in sailing upon it - and are portrayed as extremely fearful therefor. This image of trespass is a maritime equivalent of usurpation, the characteristic mode of Antichristianism: Spain is impinging upon the proper imperium of England.

The Spaniards' sinful exploitation of the New World - characterized by ravage, "rape" ('Womb'), 'Guilt' and 'Avarice' (6-9, 8, 4, 11) - is similarly expressive of

Antichristian imperium: by them a wrongful desolatio plunders the pristine regions of the New World, importing the sin of the 'old' World into them. Thus their impressment of the 'new Worlds' into the service of the 'old' (9-10) - and their theft of the New World's treasure and carriage of it to the Old (2) - are geographic images of corruption. In their case, the Old World rifles the New, instead of preserving the unfallen nature of the latter: or, even better, taking it as an exemplum for themselves. Thus the 'New' World is made 'old' - an Antichristian reversal of the eschatological drive to transform 'old' into 'New'.

This inversion of renovatio into desolatio is developed into the variations on desolatio/renovatio which form the body of the poem. Thus Spain is portrayed as the instigator of war, that major instrument of Latter-Day desolation (45-50). Since England's mission under Cromwell is particularly expressed by her militancy, Spain's provocation of war will precipitate her own ruin:

Spain had better, Shee'l ere long confess,
Have broken all her Swords, then this one Peace,
Casting that League off, which she held so long,
She cast off that which only made her strong...
Peace, against you, was the sole strength of Spain.
(45-50)

Just as England is "chosen" for naval supremacy (14), so here she is portrayed as equally predominant in war of any kind; in both cases Spain is overborne, and here especially by Cromwell's 'Conquering Sword' (44). 'Peace' is an indispensable element of renovatio, and therefore it is not surprising that the Antichristian power broke it: but the irony of "fortunate desolatio" is made by Marvell the source of the paradox in these lines, that Spain attempts to ruin renovatio only to become herself the victim of desolatio at the hands of England. Thus Cromwell's 'Conquering Sword' is the active instrument of renovation, while Spain's 'broken.. Swords' are symbols of a self-reflexive desolation.

In this passage the vision of renovatio is provided by Marvell's description of the Canary Islands; from classical times these had been identified with the Fortunate Isles. As I have indicated, the Fortunate Isles were a formulation for England's better nature - as the 'Elect Nation': and especially of her renovation, the New Jerusalem in England. So, here, Marvell makes the Canaries/Fortunate Isles an image of England in renovatio.

they behold the sweet Canary Isles;
 One of which doubtless is by Nature blest
 Above both Worlds, since 'tis above the rest.
 For least some Gloominess might stain her sky,
 Trees there the duty of the Clouds supply;
 O noble Trust which Heaven on this Isle poures,
 Fertile to be, yet never need her showres.
 A happy People, which at once do gain
 The benefits without the ill of rain.
 Both health and profit, Fate cannot deny;
 Where still the Earth is moist, the Air still dry;
 The jarring Elements no discord know,
 Fewel and Rain together kindly grow;
 And coolness there, with heat doth never fight,
 This only rules by day, and that by Night.
 Your worth to all these Isles, a just right brings,
 The best of Lands should have the best of Kings.
 And these want nothing Heaven can afford,
 Unless it be, the having you their Lord;
 But this great want, will not a long one prove,
 Your Conquering Sword will soon that want remove.
 (24-44)

It has long been recognized that this is a description of the Fortunate Isles,¹¹⁴ and that this description is 'like the numerous accounts by other poets of England's happy Garden state.'¹¹⁵ This view has remained unelaborated - its significance is still mysterious - and its relation with England's character as the Elect Nation has gone unrecognized. First, it should be noted that Teneriffe is specifically Macaria - that island which is 'above the rest' of the Fortunate Isles or Canaries (a similarly hierarchical definition of Macaria appeared in Jonson's masque). Further, it is evident from Hartlib's work that Macaria could have an exemplary function, as a model of England renovated. In Hartlib, as in Puritan New World literature, Macaria or the renovated England is portrayed as geographically distant from England: in order to render both the "newness" of renovation and its temporal distance. Geographical separation provides an image of the "interval" in time before the renovatio is realized.

So, here, this Macaria is caused to reflect back upon England by its evocation as Cromwell's proper location: 'Your worth to all these Isles, a just right brings,/ The best of Lands should have the best of Kings.' Marvell here hints that Cromwell should accept the crown, which was proffered to him at this time:¹¹⁶ a hint that proceeds from his firm constitutional monarchism. Since Cromwell is - according to the First Anniversary - a renovator of the

English state, it is proper that Macaria (the renovated England) should be his: 'The best of Lands should have the best of Kings.' Since the Macarian or renovated England has not yet been fully realized, there is a short time-lapse before Cromwell gains Macaria.

And these want nothing Heaven can afford,
Unless it be, the having you their Lord;
But this great want, will not a long one prove,
Your Conquering Sword will soon that want remove.

Here Cromwell's eschatological activism - his 'Conquering Sword' - is seen as a certain method of realizing the Protestant imperium: the acquisition of these Spanish territories signifying that idea. Simultaneously, this involves the realization of a Macarian England. The fulfilment of this ideal and of the Protestant imperium was a characteristic combination in conceptions of the 'Western Canaan' or New World, as I have indicated above; and here the ambiguous "Macaria" entertains both.

In this fashion Marvell suggests a fusion of England and her New World - of old and new - in the form of the Fortunate Isles. This conception contrasts with that point, at the beginning of the poem, where Spain was seen to carry the sins of the old World into the New; here, the English match their own renovation to the "newness" of the Fortunate Isles. Theirs is a condign, a 'just right' which brings to 'best' 'worth' the 'best of Lands'. The New World belongs to the Protestant imperium.

That imperium must be established by a Holy War, as we have seen: especially against Spain, agent of the Antichristian empire. So, here, Cromwell's 'Conquering Sword' will wrest the Fortunate Isles from the Spaniards:

Peace, against you, was the sole strength of Spain.
By that alone those Islands she secures,
Peace made them hers, but War will make them yours.
(50-52)

Here Marvell makes explicit the thought that only War - a 'just' war - will, by its desolation, achieve the renovated world (or Macaria): the Fortunate Isles will be England's only when the Spanish have been defeated. Renovation is always - as here - the goal of the imperial struggle.

It will be evident from the foregoing remarks that the poem is not as 'literal'¹¹⁷ as some have suggested; like other Marvellian poems, it utilizes statements which are at once topical or literal, and also resonant of further

meaning. Marvell's account of the Spanish fleet, of the Fortunate Isles, and of England's territorial rights, is characterized throughout by variations upon the theme of desolatio et renovatio, combined with assertion of that imperium which involved the theme. Thus the problematic of Blake consists, on the one hand, of a propagandist eulogy of the engagement and, on the other, of an apposite narrative of imperial desolatio et renovatio. As I have indicated, these two narratives are quite properly conjoined in such a poem:

This problematic answers yet another critical cavil: that 'this naval victory has to be made into some sort of fairy tale before Marvell could be at home with it', and that this "fantastic" mode was an index of his discomfort with propaganda.¹¹⁸ In fact, the 'fairy-tale' terms in which Marvell portrays the engagement are by no means fantastical, and far from comparable with the spirit of such fantasies as Waller's in The Battle of the Summer Islands: a comparison which seems implicit in the criticism quoted above. The terms in which Marvell portrays the engagement are dictated by the fundamentally serious pattern of desolatio et renovatio: and the "otherworldly" or mythic atmosphere is that proper to renovatory visions. A similar atmosphere was used, we remember, to portray England's invaded paradise in Last Instructions: and was associated there with another Macarian image. Therefore the naval engagement in Blake is - like the naval invasion in Last Instructions - portrayed in terms of the clash between desolation (or despoliation) and renovatio; England's fleet is seen to preserve the ideal renovated place (here the Canaries) from the Spanish threat of despoliation and corruption. In terms of the imperial idea, this portrayal symbolizes England's championship of the ideal renovatio and its Protestant imperium against the Antichristian menace. In this manner the "Fortunate" Canaries become a test-case for imperium, for the fate of the colonies in general. To portray the conflict in a "mythic" atmosphere was not only to intimate the renovatory vision, but also to make Blake itself an exemplary vision of the destiny of the New World; giving it the effect of "distance" proper both to visions and to exempla.

Thus, maintaining the theme of desolatio et renovatio that has informed the first fifty-two lines of the poem, Marvell indicates that the Spanish treasure-fleet represents a threat of despoliation and vitiation to these Fortunate Isles.

There the indulgent Soil that rich Grape breeds,
Which of the Gods the fancied drink exceeds.
They still do yield, such is their pretious mould,
All that is good, and are not curst with Gold.
(53-6)

Here the Fortunate Isles of renovatio display some of that renovation's special features: the 'new earth', as we know, contains everything that serves man's delight, and these elements were described in the previous lines. Here they are summarized by the word 'indulgent' - that is, indulgent to man, as the 'new earth' should be. Moreover, its 'rich Grape' is that symbolic of the Redeemer, 'rich' in its power to ransom man: the vine and wine of Christ. Here Marvell makes use of a technique familiar in Milton, who often conveys the supernal by stating that it 'exceeds' or supersedes some pagan mythic image; so, here, Marvell asserts that this Christian 'Grape' 'exceeds' the ambrosia on which the pagan 'Gods' were supposed to feed. These formulations - and the 'pretious mould' - highlight the Christian nature of this 'new earth', the vision of renovation.

This 'new earth' is threatened by the Spanish fleet's 'Gold', although as yet it remains 'not curst with Gold'.

With fatal Gold, for still where that does grow,
Neither the Soyl, nor People quiet know.
Which troubles men to raise it when 'tis Oar,
And when 'tis raised, does trouble them much more.
Ah, why was thither brought that cause of War,
Kind Nature had from thence remov'd so far.
In vain doth she those Islands free from Ill,
If fortune can make guilty what she will.
(57-64)

119

The Spaniards' gold threatens the paradisal character of the Fortunate Isles; just as, in the exordium of the poem, the getting of that gold despoiled the New World to the west. Here, as there, that gold is a symbol of Spanish corruption and Antichristianism. Moreover, the instigation of war has already been laid at the Spaniards' door (45f.), and here again it is emphasized that it is they - not the English - who 'brought that cause of war' to menace the locale of

renovatio.

Thus the English action is seen as a defence of the Islands, of (that is) the ideal of renovation against this Antichristian incursion. So the English desolating or warlike activity has a holy end: unlike that of the Spaniards, it is desolation in the cause of renovation. For this reason the Spanish are portrayed as agents of their own ruin, instigating a pure desolatio of war which is then made to rebound upon them, and thus transformed into an instrument of renovatio. The English achievement of the fortunate paradox of desolatio ut renovatio redeems the Spaniards' desolation; so Marvell portrays the Spaniards as prisoners of a paradox.

Casting that League off...

She cast off that which only made her strong.
Forces and art, she soon will feel, are vain,
Peace, against you, was the sole strength of Spain.
By that alone those Islands she secures,
Peace made them hers, but War will make them yours.

...

For Santacruze the glad Fleet takes her way,
And safely there casts Anchor in the Bay.
Never so many with one joyful cry,
That place saluted, where they all must dye.
Deluded men! Fate with you did but sport,
You scap't the Sea, to perish in your Port.

(47-52, 67-72)

Here the insistent paradoxes assert that Spain's might was solely operative in peace: war makes her weak, a reflection upon her prowess as compared to the godly might of the English. This paradox intimates that Spain effects her own desolation, and the guilt is her own too: thus Marvell suggests such a self-desolation on her part in the lines, 'Spain had better, Shee'l ere long confess,/ Have broken all her Swords, then this one Peace' - hereby enacting in statement the moral that Spain destroys herself. Moreover, 'Peace' (as we have seen) is an essential element of renovation, and Spain's 'breaking' of it is a desolatory action: introducing the portrayal, in the subsequent lines, of Spain's 'Gold' as a symbol of her desolating menace to the Fortunate Isles - themselves symbolic of renovation. Therefore, here, the Spaniards are agents of a war that interrupts the progress of the world through 'Peace' to renovation.

The paradoxes - semantic and conceptual - in which

Marvell enmeshes Spain, enact the idea of a fortunate resolution of an unfortunate war. Such a "fortunate paradox" was the essential pattern of the desolatio/renovatio process, especially (as I have indicated in an earlier chapter) in the Latter Days. Only when Antichrist was at the apogee of his power, desolating the Church by his 'Antichristian Empire', would the progress to renovation begin. So, here, the Spanish are seen as the champions of Antichristian imperium and instigators of desolatio.

Therefore it is appropriate that the Spaniards' delusion of safety and peace in their own 'Port', quoted above, should recall a Biblical description of the manner in which the End - the final desolation - would arrive. The eschatological chapters of Thessalonians, having declared the suddenness of 'the day of the Lord', observe:

For when they shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them... and they shall not escape.

(I Thess. v.3; cf. vs. 2)

The same notion of sudden desolation operates in Marvell's passage, where the Spaniards think themselves 'safe' from aggression - in, that is, 'Peace and safety'. 'Deluded men! Fate with you did but sport,/ You scap't... to perish.' They too are 'deluded', they too are victims of sudden and omnipotent 'Fate', they too are to be destroyed without escape. They are guilty of the same hubristic confidence, 'So proud and confident of their made strength' (96). The Spaniards are victims of the sudden character of desolatio, of which the English are chosen agents. Thus their 'Deluded' pride is assimilated into England's justified pride: ''Twas more for Englands fame you should dye there,/ Where you had most of strength, and least of fear.' This paradox, unfortunate for the Spanish, redounds to the glory of the English; and this unfortunate/fortunate character is typical of the poem's paradoxes in general.

The retribution brought upon the Spanish has a two-fold object: the desolating effects of both Antichristian war and Antichristian pride, agents of false imperium. The first of these - that the Spanish 'brought War' to the Fortunate Isle - is contrasted with the 'Peace' of renovation as depicted in Marvell's Macarian description. To the Macaria of renovation 'Fate cannot deny' anything (33) - though it

'sports' with the Spaniards (71); here 'the jarring Elements no discord know' (35). This evocation of 'jarring Elements' is, like the 'turnaments of these sublunary Elements' in Hastings, an image of war. Here that image is defused, 'the jarring Elements no discord know', and 'coolness... with heat doth never fight.' These images indicate that Macaria is distinguished by peace, the basis of renovation: and the images in which this idea is conveyed are themselves "natural", and hence not disturbing to the "fortunate" mood. It is this 'Peace' which the Spanish 'cause of War' threatens, as well as corrupting by greed of 'Gold'.

That other agent of desolatio, Antichristian pride, I have already noted as characteristic of the Spaniards in the poem. As we saw in Chapter III, Marvell - in orthodox fashion - saw pride and presumption as motives of Antichristianism, whether episcopal or Papist. Here he insists upon the pride, even hubris, of the Antichristian Spaniards:

They build and act all that can make them strong.
 Fond men who know not whilst such works they raise,
 They only Labour to exalt your praise.
 Yet they by restless toyl, became at Length,
 So proud and confident of their made strength,
 That they with joy their boasting General heard,
 Wish then for that assault he lately fear'd.
 His wish he has, for now undaunted Blake,
 With winged speed, for Santacruze does make.
 For your renown, his conquering Fleet does ride,
 Ore Seas as vast as is the Spaniards pride.
 (92-102)

In the first three lines the Spaniards are, again, victims of another paradox. Their proud constructions convey a Babel-like presumption: they are 'Fond... restless... proud and confident... boasting', with a 'vast... pride'. This Antichristian presumption is associated with 'Seas as vast as is the Spaniards pride': 'Seas', the image of imperium. (13-14), here are evoked to explain the causal relationship between Antichristian pride and Spanish imperial ambitions. The proper masters of the sea-'Empire' are the English; so Blake is depicted as the master of these 'Seas', and the 'renown' of his action is Cromwell's ('your renown, your praise'), because Cromwell is to be the Protestant Emperor - 'best of Kings' for 'the best of Lands'. And in the initial lines Antichristian presumption is again transformed into

English glory: 'They only Labour to exalt your praise.' On the literal level, this refers to the strengthening of the defences, which makes assault more difficult and - consequently - victory more glorious. In terms of the "imperial" narrative, these defences are Babel-like expressions of Antichristian presumption: "redeemed" by England's victory, since they redound to her deserved praise. Here, as elsewhere, this use of paradox is redemptive: transforming threat into triumph, and ratifying the fortunate process. As Marvell says, 'this [Spanish] Fleets design'd by fate' for the good fortune of England (117).

When the engagement begins, the exchange of fire creates a conflagration.

The Thund'ring Cannon now begins the Fight,
And though it be at Noon, creates a Night.
The Air was soon after the fight begun,
Far more enflam'd by it, then by the Sun.
Never so burning was that Climate known,
War turn'd the temperate, to the torrid Zone.
(119-24)

Here, in a description often considered both literal and aimlessly fanciful, the poem maintains its generally double level of statement. This "conflagration" carries a "desolating" resonance, of the 'Night' and 'enflam'd' conflagration that characterize the desolation of the End. This minor desolatio is that of war, disturbing the locale of renovatio: 'War turn'd the temperate, to the torrid Zone'. That is, a 'torrid' desolation transforms a properly 'temperate' paradise. The rigorously contained and abstracted portrait of war here has a picture-like quality which "defuses" military horrors; for this desolatio is ultimately fortunate, and to "contain" it thus by semantic devices is a decorum appropriate to that fact.

However, having thus intimated a "containment" in his introduction of the engagement, Marvell then must convey the gravity of the Spanish threat of desolatio. As a transition to this image of horror, however, he is careful to contextualize and redeem it by an evocation of its aims:

Fate these two Fleets, between both Worlds had brought.
Who fight, as if for both those Worlds they fought.
(125-6)

This encounter was decreed by 'Fate', the eschatological destiny which brings English imperium into confrontation

with its Antichristian counterpart. That destiny has brought their navies 'between both Worlds' - geographically, between the old World of Europe and the New World. On the figurative level, this indicates the current stage of history: that moment of transformation which exists between the old world and the 'new earth'. This encounter represents the period of desolation (here specifically that of war) that prefaces the renovatio. It is within this period that the imperium must be decided, so here the navy of Protestant imperium and that of its Antichristian counterpart 'fight, as if for both those Worlds they fought' - hegemony both in Europe and in the newly-discovered regions. Thus this encounter is a representative one, intimating the general imperial conflict; and the English victory is consequently similarly representative of the inevitable Protestant triumph. Indeed, the inevitability of that outcome has been itself intimated throughout, by those many paradoxical formulations that portray this particular victory as inevitable.

Similarly, the representative and therefore crucial character of this moment in history has already been indicated by Marvell's characteristic evocation of the "theatre" of history. To Cromwell he says of his description of Macaria that 'I draw that Scene, where you ere long,/ Shall conquests act' (65-6). Macaria is a future 'Scene' in the drama of history - a visionary place. By this formulation Marvell achieves a transition to the engagement itself: 'Whilst I draw that Scene... your present [conquests] are unsung.' This statement relates the 'present' occasion of triumph to the future ('ere long') vision; it is proper that the vision of renovatio should precede an account of the desolatio that is effected in its interest - contextualizing it within the fortunate process. The engagement, like Macaria, is a critical 'Scene' in history.

So when Marvell describes the engagement/ desolatio he has sufficiently established its representative nature, and its eschatological resonance. His description of the desolation is an evocation of the 'dreadful'.

Thousands of wayes, Thousands of men there die,
Some Ships are sunk, some blown up in the skie.

Nature ne'r made Cedars so high aspire,
 As Oakes did then, Urg'd by the active fire.
 Which by quick powders force, so high was sent,
 That it return'd to its own Element.
 Torn Limbs some leagues into the Island fly,
 Whilst others lower, in the Sea do lye.
 Scarce souls from bodies sever'd are so far,
 By death, as bodies there were by the War.
 Th'all-seeing Sun, neer gaz'd on such a sight,
 Two dreadful Navies there at Anchor Fight.
 And neither have, or power, or will to fly,
 There one must Conquer, or there both must dye.
 (127-40)

These 'Two dreadful Navies' have an apocalyptic aspect, which is supported by eschatological echoes in the passage. The 'active fire', 'quick powders force', the explosion ('blown up') all develop the image of conflagration introduced in the previous paragraph: intimating, in the form of a minor desolation, the character of such features of the End as the 'lake of fire' of Revelation (xix-xx). Similarly, Marvell's apparently extravagant image of 'Torn Limbs [that]... into the Island fly' as well as into the sea (133-4), is a combination of eschatological and 'Fortunate Isles' lore. Pliny had said that the Fortunate Isles suffered from the noxious effects of whale-carasses washed up on their shores;¹²⁰ here Marvell transforms these carcasses into those of men, and their "invasion" of the island represents the incursion of desolation and death into the land of renovatio. The distribution of human remains imitates that in Revelation, where men - who die both on land and at sea - can be judged only when 'the sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead that were in them' (Rev. xx.13). Thus the point of Marvell's distribution of the dead - which evokes the extravagant formulation of carcasses 'fly(ing) into the Island' - is to imitate the universal pattern of distribution, as indicated in Revelation. This resonance is confirmed by the next couplet, which compares the war's division of bodies to the severance of body from soul at death; the introduction of 'souls' is relevant to a salvatory theme, and that of soul/body division is pertinent to a process whose end is the resurrection and rejoining of both. (Without such End-dominated connotations, this particular image would be gratuitous indeed.) Moreover, the echoes of Revelation xx in this passage are appropriate to

Marvell's theme of desolatio et renovatio; since the ultimate desolation recounted in Revelation xx introduces, in Revelation xxi, the 'new heavens and... new earth' of final renovatio. So, here, the War is a desolating prelude to imperial renovation.

It is suitably introduced, then, by the remarking of 'Thousands of wayes, Thousands of men' (127). A similar formulation introduced the images of End and resurrection in Illustrissimo Viro: 'Mille modis monstrat mille per indicia' ('in a thousand ways and by a thousand signs...'); and there the 'thousand... thousand' construction reflected the promise of the millennium ('mille'), or thousand-year Kingdom. Similarly, here, that numerological indication of the renovatio further strengthens Marvell's insistence upon the fact that this desolatio strictly subserves renovatio. This context is reiterated at the end of the description, when Marvell places the engagement under the eye of 'Th'all-seeing Sun': the sun being not only an image of God's omniscience ('all-seeing'), but also of His especial eschatological form as the sol iustitiae - the Sun/Son who comes at the End.

Marvell further insists upon the crucial nature of the encounter: that 'one must Conquer, or... both must dye' only 'There... there', in that representative location. This is an event of holy war, and the verbs of the passage in particular convey the activism necessary thereto: to 'dye', to 'high aspire', to be 'Urg'd by active fire' (as Cromwell 'Urg'd his active Star'), 'quick force... high was sent', 'fly' and 'Fight'. These terms carry connotations of activism, which are not only comparable to the terms used of Cromwell in the Ode but also, in the 'Cedars' and 'Oaks' that 'high aspire', reminiscent of the 'Trees [that] to Heaven shooting are' which reflected Fairfaxian activism in Appleton House. These connotations of activism climax in the assertion that

There one must Conquer, or there both must dye.
Far different Motives yet, engag'd them thus,
Necessity did them, but Choice did us.
(140-142)

Here is another recollection of Appleton House, where the activist Fairfaxes 'make their Destiny their Choice'. So, here, the English make 'Choice' to hazard themselves in war,

whereas the Spaniards are enforced by mere 'Necessity'. The Puritan integration of will and necessity reflected in the Fairfaxes' and England's 'Choice' is the basis of chiliastic activism, which voluntarily chimes with 'Destiny' and 'Necessity'. In this fashion the English 'Motives' for this war-desolatio are seen as appropriate to the eschatological process; activism is here, as always, the agent of desolatio for renovation. By this means the English navy's aggression is justified and sanctified in the poem. So Marvell moralizes it: 'A choice which did the highest worth express, /And was attended by as high success' (143-4).

Finally, in order firmly to attach this eschatological victory to its "imperial" source, Marvell traces the triumph to Cromwell's 'genious'.

For your resistless genious there did Raign,
By which we Lawrels reapt ev'n on the Mayn.
So prosperous Stars, though absent to the sence,
Bless those they shine for, by their Influence.
(145-9)

Here Cromwell, urged earlier to be a renovatory 'King', is firmly identified in that capacity with the English imperium: he 'did Raign' even at Santacruze, and by him 'the Mayn' - image of imperium - is made to yield English 'Lawrels'. Once again the "fortunate paradox" appears, to convey England's triumph: 'Lawrels reapt ev'n on the Mayn'. Such triumphs are destined, and Cromwell is the 'prosperous Star' portending and activating them (as he was in the First Anniversary of a few years before).

The English triumph is particularly that of having preserved the Fortunate Isles' renovatio from vitiation by that Spanish gold: 'Their Gallions sunk, their wealth the Sea does fill, / The only place where it can cause no Ill' (151-2). This preservation of the place - and of the ideal - prompts Marvell's moralization of the episode.

Ah would those Treasures which both Indies have,
Were buried in as large, and deep a grave,
Wars chief support with them would buried be,
And the Land owe her peace unto the Sea.
Ages to come, your conquering Arms will bless,
There they destroy, what had destroy'd their Peace.
And in one War the present Age may boast,
The certain seeds of many Wars are lost.
(153-160)

Several complex and resolving ideas are contained here. First Marvell emphasizes the general significance - the

representativeness - of the occasion; locating the threat of 'War' in the 'chief support' given by the New World's riches - as he had at the very beginning, reflecting a general English idea. The universalization of the idea, indicated in his extension of it to all the 'Treasures' available, culminates in the imperial moralitas of 'the Land owe her peace unto the Sea'. For 'Peace' is, in this poem as in others (and also by tradition) an essential of renovatio and hence of the achieved imperium, which was an eschatological version of the imperial Augustan Pax. Since the 'Sea' represents that imperium, it is appropriate that 'the Land [should] owe her peace unto the Sea'. And of this vision of attained imperium the engagement at Santacruz provides an occasion and an exemplum, since there the Fortunate Isles of pax et renovatio certainly did 'owe... peace unto the Sea'; and, specifically, to the imperial 'genious' of Cromwell as expressed in his navy. The engagement is thus made an explicitly representative vision of imperial renovation.

Its similarity to the conflict of 1588¹²¹ means that an historical echo, which would have been present in any contemporary reader's mind, would support Marvell's assertion of English imperium here. (As, indeed, a reminiscence of the Spanish Armada and Elizabethan imperium provided such support in Britannia and Rawleigh.) An equally universalizing function informs the following lines. 'Ages to come, your conquering Arms will bless,/ There they destroy, what had destroy'd their Peace.' These lines provide the culmination for this poem's assertion that the Spaniards 'destroy'd... Peace', and that therefore it behoved the English to 'destroy' them: the desolators are themselves desolated, in a condign and purgative manner. (Another "fortunate" paradox.) For this desolatio 'Ages to come, your conquering Arms will bless', because this was a fortunate desolatio: 'in one War... /The certain seeds of many Wars are lost', because that 'one War' was a properly purgative desolation. The universal significance of England's purging role is sealed by the final couplet: 'Whilst Fame in every place, her Trumpet blowes,/ And tells the World, how much to you it owes' (my italics). This generalization of the event relates to the fact that, by such triumphs over the Spaniards, England rescues the 'World'

from their Antichristian imperium.

The engagement at Santacruze is, in Marvell's poem, a test-case and exemplum for Protestant imperium; a victory in which 'both Worlds' are at stake. Blake reflects the characteristic features of chiliastic imperium - the struggle against the Spanish Antichrist, the renovatory significance of the New World, Macaria/the Fortunate Isles as a vision or "myth" of renovatio, and the interinvolved destinies of the "New Jerusalem" England and her 'New World'. Thereby the poem is associated with Marvell's other works of the 1650s, since it participates in the pattern of desolatio et renovatio and its related themes of imperium and 'Peace': all of which are aspects of the beliefs associated with the Reformation Astraea and her Latter-Day, imperial renovation. The implications of these chiliastic beliefs reveal Blake in its true character, and connect it with Appleton House (1652), The First Anniversary (1654), Ingelo (1653), The Character of Holland (1653) and the Death of O.C. (1658). Blake (1657) draws together strands from the themes of all these poems to assert the Protestant imperium; and this assertion makes it a salient expression of Marvell's attitudes and expectations in this crucial decade of the Interregnum.

iv. A Revelation for the Revolution: 'Bermudas'

The background of the poems mentioned above is also that of Bermudas: dated by general supposition at 1653, a date at which Marvell was lodging at Eton with John Oxenbridge, a divine who had visited the Bermudas - and from whom Marvell is believed to have received the stimulus, and perhaps some of the information, for the poem.¹²² There seems to be little reason to argue with this notional date and provenance; certainly the poem would appear to have been written in the early 1650s, since (as I have indicated) it was in these years that the policies of Cromwellian Protestant imperium gave a renewed stimulus to interest in the New World. Moreover, as I shall show in this section, the thematic background and the motifs of Bermudas are related to those of Marvell's other poems in this decade; the poem is an exemplum and a vision for Cromwell's revolution, Marvell's poetic "revelation" for the new era.

Critical comment upon the poem has been somewhat confused, more especially since certain points have in general been accepted as unquestionable without sufficient understanding of their significance. The poem has been read in two ways: first, as a celebration of extremist Puritan settlement and/or an allegory of Eden or various other terrestrial paradises.¹²³ In such accounts of the poem the several kinds of paradise are confused, and passing reference is nearly always made to the Fortunate Islands; as also relatively vague gestures at "millenarianism". The relationships between such elements in the poem tend to be little recognized. Secondly, the poem is sometimes interpreted - presumably in despair at its apparent "simplicity", and a need to disagree with general critical opinion - as ironically iconoclastic towards its Puritan sailors.¹²⁴

In fact, Bermudas displays the themes and features of the cohesive group of 1650s lyrics. The problematic of the poem is a prophetic one, providing a conjunction of reality and history with vision and exemplum. As we have seen, the New World was, in Puritan literature, a place for settlement and therefore a fulfilment of imperium; at once a real geographical location, a Latter-Day revelation, and a figura of the New Jerusalem - especially, of the "New Jerusalem England" which was understood to be imminently realizable at home. Bermudas is a vision, for Cromwell's England, of its arrival at a "New Jerusalem" character: the goal intimated in The First Anniversary of the following year. As we shall see, that vision in the poem is also an exemplum which recognizes the "interval" that yet interposes between England's current condition and the New Jerusalem to which she aspires.

The Puritan sailors of the poem, whose destination is the Bermudas, have generally been identified as one or another set of those Puritan "extremists" who had been driven from England by Laudianism. In fact, by the 1650s Puritan voyages of this kind were no longer undertaken for such necessities - indeed, they were no longer a topic of that kind. Marvell's sailors are in fact representatives of their Puritan England of 1653, and their boat - specified as 'the English boat' in Marvell's own italics - is the

contemporary Puritan Ship of State and Church, on its Westward journey to the New Jerusalem. The islands of the poem are the real Bermudas, recalling the lore of those islands: and thus far the descriptions of Puritan voyage-literature are relevant to the poem.¹²⁵ But they are not, as some commentators would have them, paramount; and neither is the fact that the Bermudas were subject to dissension and autocratic religious squabbles.¹²⁶ That Marvell's poem takes no account of the latter has been adduced, in a manner which patronizes his Puritanism, as a function of purblind or partisan motives. But the real Bermudas simply provide a real historical scenario for an eschatological vision. In the problematic of the poem, they provide a counterpart for the New-Jerusalem England: and the identification of the two is facilitated by the characterization of the Bermudas as the Fortunate Isles, which were themselves an image of England in renovatio.

Like the Mowers of Appleton House, the voyagers of Bermudas are engaged in a crossing that is a Latter-Day version of the Old Israel's crossing of the Red Sea to their Promised Land. They sail through the Sea of the World, in the Ship of State and Church, to England's apotheosis. Bermudas, as the New Jerusalem, is at once a material paradise of the New World, and the 'world to come'. In Marvell's poem it intimates this two-fold -- real world and future world -- character of the New Jerusalem:

This Revelation doth end in a description of the glorious condition of the Church. In the two last chapters (as I take it) the Evangelist Saint John sets downe the glorious estate of the Church of God, even in this world; yet so, as it shall end and be consummate in perfect glory, in the world to come. 127

Similarly, the nature and location of the Bermudas provides for Marvell's poem a fusion of 'this world' and 'the world to come': just as the New Jerusalem was to cause earth and paradise to coincide, as the 'new earth' -- it too was at once of this world and God, earth and heaven joined at last. The voyage to the Bermudas enacts Jeremy Taylor's advice that 'we must look some where else for an abiding city, a place in another countrey to fix our house in';¹²⁹ and enacts it in geographical as well as spiritual terms.

The vision of Bermudas as New Jerusalem/Fortunate Isles is framed by an introduction and a peroration, each of four

lines. By this means the vision is circumscribed, as a 'Song' sung by the sailors; it is a prophetic song - like Virgil's in his Eclogue - and thus suitably "framed" and separated from that description of situation provided by exordium and peroration. The time of the framing passages is current time; that of the song is visionary, referring to future time. This fact is the answer to a perennial critical problem with this poem: for some critics complain that the sailors do not appear to have arrived at the island yet, but they describe it in their song as if they have already seen it.¹³⁰ All prophecy on the model of Revelation describes what is to be as if it had already happened, as St. John did; and the features of their island New Jerusalem are known to the sailors because they have been "revealed" in prophecy - they are certain quantities. That description of the island is a vision, the "framing" quatrains are the present from which the vision is 'sung': the present in which they sail towards that destination adumbrated by the vision.

The first quatrain delicately, even mysteriously - as is proper to prophecy - establishes the nature of the poem.

Where the remote Bermudas ride
 In th'Oceans bosome unespy'd,
 From a small Boat, that row'd along,
 The listning Winds receiv'd this Song.
 (1-4)

The islands are located in a fashion suitable to their significance, as "distanced" in time and space: they are 'remote' and 'unespy'd' - the latter word intimating their mysterious quality, as the New Jerusalem not yet "seen" in time. Later we are told that Bermuda was 'an Isle so long unknown' (7), a statement that recalls that its "revelation" or discovery was reserved for the Latter Days. Here the isles are "hidden" in a manner which intimates that deliberate concealment on God's part, till the English should possess it. Similarly, the location of the islands and of the boat is made self-reflexive: 'Where the remote Bermudas ride... a small Boat' locates the boat in an area of imprecise size ('Where...'), where the Bermudas also are: a geographic indication, but the 'Where' is vague enough to make us wonder how close the isles and the boat are to one another. They are at least in the same area: the implication of some imminent coincidence of boat and island

figures the imminence of England's arrival at her destination, but its imprecise timing intimates also that the "interval" before that end is of unknown proportions. The distance ('remote') and mystery ('unespy'd') of this exordium implies the vague time and space of prophetic literature.

Of this deliberate mystery the adverb 'along' is an element: we are not told whether the boat's movement is forward or backward, merely that it is 'along'. This may indicate that it is far from sure whether England's Ship is progressing, since this one cannot know till the End itself is reached. Moreover, the 'small(ness)' of the boat as compared with 'th'Oceans bosome' conveys its fragility. These uncertainties are all functions of the "interval" before prophecy attains fulfilment; the true nature and temporal proportions of an interval are not known until the interval is ended. Here the 'English boat' is portrayed as interval-bound, the destination 'known' but 'unespy'd' as yet; she has not yet reached the New Jerusalem, the Bermudas.

The nature of the Bermudas is first indicated in these lines: 'the remote Bermudas ride/ On th'Oceans bosome'. Here the islands are portrayed as if unrooted, they 'ride' as if at anchor ('ride' being Marvell's term for ships at anchor).¹³¹ This statement is at once pertinent to the real islands and also indicative of their eschatological significance. The islands are very flat,¹³² and thus could appear to be "floating" on the sea. Floating islands were often a feature of the Fortunate Isles, and - as we have seen - Macaria itself could float in the air. In Jonson's masque it "landed" on England, thereby bringing the New-Jerusalem England. This "landing" was particularly appropriate, since the New Jerusalem itself was understood to "descend" to earth from heaven: 'I... saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven' (Rev. xxi. 2); 'New heav'n and earth shall... down from heav'n descend' (PL. X.647-8).¹³³ Just as the New Jerusalem/Macaria descended and came to rest in England in Jonson's masque, so here the similarly floating Bermudas are seen to have come to rest as if at anchor. Here again, the 'Ocean' is the setting for a vision of England's destiny.

The mysterious ambience of this frame is further enhanced by the similarly unlocated 'Song'. The singers are neither present in the language, nor identified: a fact which supports the universalizing, prophetic mode of the poem. Similarly, the 'Song' does not seem to have a specific direction, since only 'the listning Winds receiv'd' it. Certainly the 'Winds' seem to carry a traditional "spiritual" connotation, which is here substituted for human auditors. The whole atmosphere is thus created for a mysterious and generalized effect, proper to the prophetic mode.

The deliberately uninformative exordium is followed by the visionary 'Song', which alone must inform us because it is visionary. From the frame we move into the centre, the substance: the vision alone is precise, because it is a destination, whereas the frame was merely a "featureless" interval. It is prophetic and providential.

What should we do but sing his Praise
That led us through the watry Maze,
Unto an Isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own?
Where he the huge Sea-Monsters wracks,
That lift the Deep upon their Backs.
He lands us on a grassy Stage;
Safe from the Storms, and Prelat's rage.
He gave us this eternal Spring,
Which here enamells every thing;
And sends the Fowl's to us in care,
On daily Visits through the Air.
He hangs in shades the Orange bright,
Like golden Lamps in a green Night.
And does in the Pomgranates close,
Jewels more rich than Ormus show's.
He makes the Figs our mouths to meet;
And throws the Melons at our feet.
But Apples plants of such a price,
No Tree could ever bear them twice.
With Cedars, chosen by his hand,
From Lebanon, he stores the Land.
And makes the hollow Seas, that roar,
Proclaime the Ambergris on shoar.
He cast (of which we rather boast)
The Gospels Pearl upon our Coast.
And in these Rocks for us did frame
A Temple, where to sound his Name.

(5-32)

The 'Song' is a paeon to God's care for His Chosen People; He guides, cherishes, and bestows. It is now evident why Marvell suppressed the singers' agency in the 'Song' - there are no agents in the poem who can match God's omnipresent agency. Apart from their praise of Him, they have no agancy: 'What should we do but sing his Praise?' Providence is the source of everything, the sailors its

patients. He 'led', 'he... wracks', 'He lands', 'He gave', He 'sends', 'He hangs', He 'does close', 'He makes', 'And throws' and 'plants', 'he stores' 'And makes', 'He cast' 'And... did frame'; almost all the verbs belong to God, and the rest are products of or reactions to His agency. God is, as He must be, the arbiter of their destiny and the bestower of the New Jerusalem. And, as it should, the New Jerusalem 'serves every delight of man'; if God is sole source of these gifts, so His elect are sole recipients: 'gave us', 'to us in care', 'our mouths', 'our feet', 'for us'.

The statements of these lines describe not only the New Jerusalem/Bermudas, but also the manner of the journey thither. The sailors come to ^{the} island through 'the watry Maze' (6). This is the Sea as the World and Time: as Marvell characterized it in the First Anniversary, 'the vain curlings of the Watry maze' in the waters of Time (1-4). Through this Sea of the World the Ship of Church and State voyages, driven ever westward by persecution. Thus the sailors here flee from Laudian episcopal persecutions, the 'Prelat's rage' against true believers. Equated in kind with 'Storms', such 'rage' is one of the perils of the Sea of the World; especially in the Latter Days of desolatio, in which the elect suffer. So, here, that desolating prelude to the renovated destination is intimated by the prelatical 'Storms' and the 'Sea-Monsters' that characterize the dangerous journey to the New Jerusalem. As one chiliast put it, the current desolation of the world was such 'that the World seemeth truely to bee nothing else but an ocean full of hidious monsters',¹³⁴ all dangerous to the good.

In the tribulation of the godly the 'Prelat's rage' colludes with the 'Sea-Monsters', since both are aspects of the Antichristian persecution in the Latter Days. While the 'Prelat' personifies episcopal Antichristianism in England herself, the 'Sea-Monsters' signify Antichrist in general: they are symbols in the poem of 'Leviathan Hells proud beast', as Fairfax called him:¹³⁵ the equivalent of the Beast which rises from the sea in Revelation xiii.1.¹³⁶ His destruction had been prophesied by Isaiah:

In that day the Lord with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan, the piercing

serpent, even leviathan, that crooked serpent,
and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.
(Isaiah xxvii.1)

This is the destruction effected in Bermudas, where God 'wracks' the whale-leviathans; the destruction which prefaces the arrival of His elect at the New Jerusalem. The tribulations of Antichrist's agents - 'Storms, and Prelat's rage' - must be withstood, and the Beast himself 'wracked' before the Latter-Day journey through desolation can end. Indeed, the destruction of Isaiah's Leviathan was associated with the arrival of Justice at the Coming,¹³⁶ the foundation of renovatio and hence of the New Jerusalem.

When the Sea of the World had been detailed by Adams, he had specified Leviathan as the enemy of the Ship of the Church and the Soul: in the World-Sea the 'Arch-Pyrate of all is the Deuill; that huge "Leuiathan, that takes his pleasure in this sea." Psa.104'¹³⁷ (the source of his quotation, Psalm civ, has often been cited as a source for this poem, in a general way);¹³⁸ and he too had associated it with the aspects of Antichrist in Revelation.¹³⁹ For Adams, this character is the source of a 'blustering tempest' of evil: here indicated by Marvell's 'Storms'. (Bermudan lore, indeed, backs up this motif of bad weather.¹⁴⁰) Against these Antichristian perils of the World-Sea God's preserving Providence is asserted: He 'led us through the watry Maze'. Similarly, a popular chiliastic work had averred God's guidance of the ship: 'there is a God aboue that guideth the sterne of the world, and that taketh care of humane matters.'¹⁴¹ Just as He steers the 'World' by providence, so he steers this Ship of the Saints. Moreover, 'His way is in the Sea, and his paths in the great waters; and his footsteps are not known' (Psalm lxxvii.19); thus the 'watry Maze' is also the unknown path of God, that "mystery" of Providence¹⁴² which pervades the poem. He alone understands it, and is therefore guide and agent throughout.

This eschatological narrative in lines 5-12 is fused by the problematic with a narrative of Bermudan and Macarian lore. The whales that figure Leviathan are such as those described by Pliny:

a mightie fish called Physer, (a whirlepoole) rising aloft out of the sea in manner of a columne or pillar... and then he spouteth and casteth forth a mightie deale of water, as it

were out of a conduit, ynough to drowne and
sinke a ship. 143

Such creatures, commonly illustrated on maps, are recalled in Marvell's whales 'That lift the Deep upon their Backs.' The "Bermudan narrative" of the problematic (as I shall call it) also features in the 'watry Maze'. For the Hesperides, traditionally identified with the Fortunate Isles,¹⁴⁴ were protected by 'an inlet of the sea, with a winding course in the form of a dragon, which encompassed the gardens of the Hesperides.'¹⁴⁵ This 'winding' course is a protective measure for that terrestrial paradise, and here the 'watry Maze' performs a similar function for the Bermudan Fortunate Isles. At this level the image is also peculiarly appropriate to the real Bermudas; one of the seminal accounts of the islands describes their navigational peculiarities - 'with such curious and narrow comming in' - as the reason for their particularly defensible character.¹⁴⁶ Such meditations upon the Bermudas' "providential" defensibility are a typical feature of the travelogues which were concerned to recommend settlement of the islands by emphasizing their strategic value for England.¹⁴⁷ A similar motive prompted their enthusiastic references to the rocky coast of the islands, the security provided by these being recalled in line 31 of Marvell's poem: where the 'Rocks' - in addition to their other meanings - convey a providential protection of the island, such as that constantly asserted in the travelogues. This feature was referred to the destined rights of the English in this region:

Bermuda... hath the strength of Nature and Art
conspiring her impregnablenesse. For the Rockes
every way have so fortified the situation, that
she would laugh at an Armada, at a World of
Ships... she can know no other love or Lord but
English. 148

Thus the Bermudan narrative's use of such motifs complements their significance in the eschatological narrative: displaying the peculiar appropriateness of these islands for Marvell's purposes in this poem. The sailors are 'Safe' both because of the islands' 'impregnablenesse' and because they are in the New Jerusalem, which was itself 'walled for security'.¹⁴⁹ The Bermudan New Jerusalem is the abode of the redeemed, 'Safe'.

The progress from the Sea of the World to the renovated

landscape of the New Jerusalem is, as I have indicated, a progress through the Latter-Day desolatio figured by the World-Sea, to the ultimate renovatio: England's Ship moves towards her transformed image as the New-Jerusalem England. The sailors' landing, envisaged in the 'Song', confirms Adams' assertion that the World-Sea is a mere "interval", and 'onely is for waftage':¹⁵⁰ thus, in the poem, the desolatio of the sea-voyage is portrayed merely as a prelude to the renovatio of the destination. Reaching the 'Isle... far kinder than our own', the sailors remark that, as God 'led us through the watry Maze', so 'He lands us on a grassy Stage;/ Safe from the Storms,'¹⁵¹ This 'grassy Stage' is a transformation of the "real" Bermudan shore, which was in fact rocky and arid:¹⁵² its characterization as 'grassy' is the poem's introduction of the "ideal" renovated landscape and its fertility. The 'Stage' is at once dry land and an equilibrium, a restful level which contrasts with the rising 'Deep' of the previous line: an image of the "restful" renovatio after the disturbances of desolatio. A similar contrast informs the evocation of 'the hollow Seas, that roar' (27), since in the desolation of the World-Sea it was understood that there would be 'distress... the sea and the waves roaring.'¹⁵³

The passage through the World-Sea - under God's guidance - to the renovatio here imitates Isaiah's description of the movement to the Elect Nation's renovation. Recalling the Red Sea crossing and foretelling the Coming, he says

Art thou not it who hast wounded the dragon?
 Art thou not it... who hath made the depths of
 the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over?
 Therefore, the redeemed of the Lord shall
 return [to the Promised Land], and come with
 singing unto Zion.

(Isaiah li.9-11)

The same destruction of the Leviathan, and guidance through the 'depths (or 'Deep') of the sea', characterizes the coming of Marvell's sailors to their "New" Promised Land; and the 'Seas that roar' in Marvell's poem also recall verse 15, where appears 'the sea, whose waves roared'. Like the arrivals in Isaiah, Marvell's sailors also 'come with singing' into the New Jerusalem: not only in the form of the visionary 'Song' (4), but also within that song - as they express their gratitude to God. 'Oh let our Voice his

Praise exalt' (33). This is the appropriate reaction for the Saints as they land at the New Jerusalem. Commenting upon Revelation xv.2, Adams says that it is

Where the Saints having passed the dangers of the glassy sea, all the perils and terrors of this brittle... World: and now setting their triumphant feete on the shores of happinesse; they sing a victorious song... Praising God with harps and voices for their safe waftage¹⁵⁴ ouer the sea of this World.

Similarly, Adams - like Isaiah - relates this landing and the consequent 'Song' to the type of the Red Sea crossing.¹⁵⁵ The ultimate paradise is, as in Marvell's poem, a place where one lands and sings in gratitude.

This eschatological motif is, as throughout the poem, seconded by the Bermudan narrative. For the motifs of guidance, landing and grateful prayer also distinguish the account of the 'first colony' in Bermuda which was printed in Purchas.

by God's blessing [we] found so direct a course, that... [at last] wee descried our hoped and desired Ilands, and... wee arrived in a verie safe harbour... As soone as wee had landed all our company, we went all to praier, and gave thanks unto the Lord for our safe arrivall...¹⁵⁶ [and] we sung a Psalme, and praised the Lord.

Thus Bermudan lore complements the eschatological senses of landing, safety and praise. Moreover, when Marvell's sailors begin their song by asking, 'What should we do but sing his Praise', they are acknowledging the proper activity of the Saints in this situation: as Revelation insists, the whole activity of the Saints here is solely that of singing 'Praise' to God.¹⁵⁷ 'What should we do but sing his Praise?' Furthermore, the same motif of song was a characteristic of the Fortunate Isles:

Here are said to be wonderful songs of various birds as they fly hither and thither... Here are heard also the sweetest songs of human beings.¹⁵⁸

In Marvell's Bermudan narrative the human 'song' is also combined with a reference to the 'Fowl's': the only creatures on the island in his poem, apart from the sailors themselves.

The passage from sea to land effected in the 'Song' is a literal enaction of the transformation effected at the renovatio: 'I saw a new heaven and a new earth... and there

was no more sea' (Rev. xxi.1). In Revelation then (as in Adams)¹⁵⁹ the sea belongs to the old order; and here it is suitably left behind, with its desolatio. The juxtaposed 'grassy Stage' of the renovation has its own specific eschatological resonance; on the level of the eschatological narrative it is both a 'Stage' of history and the 'Stage' of the theatre of history. (Similarly, in The First Anniversary, Marvell characterizes historical time by 'the Stages of succeeding Suns' [8].) The image of the theatrical 'Stage' of history was a common component of that eschatological metaphor of 'theatre': a divine, speaking of the End, mentioned 'humane affairs, and the Stage whereon they are acted', and another asserted that God's current work was 'to pull downe Antichrist from his Stage'.¹⁶⁰ In Marvell's poem this image represents the renovatory or 'grassy Stage' of history.

The "landing" at renovatio, which is effected at the End, is used not only in Bermudas but also in its near contemporary, The First Anniversary. There Marvell, despairing because 'The Ill' delay the Last Day, says that 'Hence landing Nature to new Seas is tost,/ And good Designes still with their Authors lost' (157-8). There Nature - the Creation or the world - is sea-borne in Time, aiming to 'land' and become new. In Bermudas that "landing" at renovatio is effected, within the visionary 'Song'. This New World landing at the New Jerusalem is the goal of England in the First Anniversary too, where the navy is 'A Fleet of Worlds, of other Worlds in quest': and 'floting Islands' aiming to land in Macarian fashion (359,358).

The landing is an arrival, as I have indicated, at the 'Safe(ty)' of the New Jerusalem. That the sailors are here 'Safe from the Storms' of the World-Sea is a reflection of the idea that Peace and rest characterize the renovatio. As a divine put it, 'if Christ worke quietnesse... if "he rebuke the winds and the sea" [Matt. xiv.32], nothing from the world can raise a tempest.'¹⁶¹ Similarly here, by divine agency the sailors are immunised from the 'Storms' of the World-Sea, since they (and history) have moved out of desolation into renovation. The Latter-Day desolatio was described as the 'tempest' of Antichristian persecution¹⁶² - here represented by the 'Storms, and Prelat's rage', which

would persist 'till the Prince of Peace come to conclude the controversy'.¹⁶³ This secure 'Peace' and renovatio is thus shown to supersede the World-Sea of desolatio in the poem.

Marvell's portrayal of the Bermudan renovatio, or New Jerusalem, maintains the poem's double narrative. The Bermudas display verdancy, fertility, 'care' for man: all features both of the New Jerusalem and the Fortunate Isles. Their 'eternal Spring' (13) is that of the Fortunate Isles;¹⁶⁴ and it imitates also the nature of renovatio. For 'eternal Spring' intimates eternal regeneration or constant "newness", thereby reflecting the renovation. Similarly, according to the Geneva Bible, the New Jerusalem was 'Euer grene and florishing'.¹⁶⁵

Such features of renovatio were contrasted by Marvell with history's constant desolatio, in one of his prose works:

God has hitherto, instead of an Eternal Spring, a standing serenity, and perpetual Sun-shine, subjected Mankind to the dismal influence of Comets from above... Tempests from the middle Region, and from the lower Surface, to the raging of the Seas.

(RT, 231)

These, he avers - as well as 'all other the innumerable calamities to which humane life is exposed' - are all the effects of God's 'complacency' (231-2), which decrees man's purification by desolation. So, in Bermudas, such desolating 'Tempests' and 'Seas' are weathered before the 'eternal Spring' can be attained. Both in the poem and in this passage that 'Eternal Spring' is an image of a renovatio outside this present world.

The visionary nature of this 'eternal Spring' is indicated by Marvell's statement that it 'enamells every thing' - the landscape is 'enamelled' as in a picture, visionary and exemplary. Moreover, the word's connotation - of deep and various colours¹⁶⁶ - recalls the nature of the New Jerusalem in Revelation, which flashes with gems of many colours: 'her light was like a stone most precious', built of many kinds of gems (Rev. xxi.11-21). This connotation is picked up in the following lines, where

He hangs in shades the Orange bright,
Like golden Lamps in a green Night.
And does in the Pomgranates close,

Jewels more rich than Ormus shows.

Here the 'Jewels' of the New Jerusalem appear, figured by the seeds of the 'Pomgranates'. This fruit is particularly appropriate to the eschatological reference, since it was a symbol of the Church,¹⁶⁷ and the New Jerusalem was the consummation or 'glory' of the Church. Here, therefore, the Ship of the Church - having reached its destination - has undergone its transformation into the "jewelled" New Jerusalem; and its 'Jewels' are especially 'rich' because of their salvatory significance. The 'golden Lamps' recall the especial 'lights' of the New Jerusalem:

the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light of it... And there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither the light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light.

(Rev. xxi.23, xxii.5)

In the same fashion God 'hangs... golden Lamps' for His Saints in this poem. They hang 'in shades', 'in a green Night', for similarly eschatological reasons. First, on the literal level, the artificial 'Night' of a forest was a common poetic motif and is so used both here and in the wood of Appleton House.¹⁶⁸ But this 'Night' also carries a renovatory idea, because it is 'green': a verdant darkness. Moreover, since - as the passage above testifies - 'there shall be no night' in the New Jerusalem, the only night manifested in this Bermudan New Jerusalem is that of the forest, the 'green Night'. Since this New Jerusalem is the fulfilment of prophecy, Marvell's line suitably recalls the 'light' of prophecy itself: which 2 Peter i.19 had called 'a light that shineth in a dark place'. These are the biblical sources of Marvell's couplets here.

With these the influence of other sources combines, seconding these renovatory images by means of the Bermudan narrative. It has long been recognized that Marvell's golden oranges here recall the golden apples of the Hesperides, themselves 'Fortunate Isles'. It has not, however, been explained why Marvell should transform them into oranges. In fact Marvell is here recalling Bacon's version of the New Jerusalem, the island of New Atlantis: in which the healing power of the place is represented by ubiquitous oranges. These are 'of colour between orange-

tawney and scarlet, [and] cast a most excellent odour'.¹⁶⁹

there were brought in to us great store of those scarlet oranges for our sick; which (they said) were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. 170

For, like Marvell's mariners, Bacon's have passed over the World-Sea, through the desolatio of tempest, to their New Jerusalem:¹⁷¹ and the oranges which 'remedy... sickness taken at sea' are in fact healing the sins and wounds ('sickness') suffered in the 'sea'-World. They are Bacon's version, in his practical New Jerusalem, of the 'healing' fruits of the New Jerusalem in Revelation.

In the midst... was there the tree of life, which bore twelve kinds of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

(Rev. xxii.2)

Both in Revelation and in Bacon's version of that New Jerusalem, the fruits are 'for... healing' - agents of renovation. A similar motif informs Marvell's own 'Oranges': and the plenitude of fruits on the Tree of Life is imitated in his New Jerusalem, where are 'Orange', 'Pomgranate', 'Figs', 'Melons' and 'Apples'. These fruits are given to, not gathered by, the Saints because both the New Jerusalem and the Fortunate Isles are distinguished by an effortless plenitude. 'He makes the Figs our mouths to meet;/ And throws the Melons at our feet.'

That God here 'Apples plants' recalls the traditional character of God as 'Gardener', creator and renovator both of Eden and of the 'far kinder' New Jerusalem of the Bermudas. He 'Apples plants of such a price,/ No Tree could ever bear them twice' (23-4). Controversy has raged over these 'Apples': some critics contending that they are Bermudan pineapples, some that they recollect the Fall.¹⁷² In fact, they are pineapples for the purposes of the Bermudan narrative; while, on the eschatological level, they recall the Tree of Knowledge that at the eschaton is replaced by the Tree of Life, its renovated anti-type. Moreover, these two Trees tended to be identified with the 'Tree' of the Cross, which redeemed the first and promised the latter; and in this tradition the 'Apples' of the first Tree become symbols of Christological salvation.¹⁷³ Since these 'Apples' were immutable from the time of Eden until

that of the eschaton, it follows that (as Marvell says here) 'No Tree could ever bear them twice.' Their 'price' is at once that of the Fall and the "ransoming" of fallen man by Christ. Similarly, they are 'of price' because - like the 'Pomgranates' - 'rich' in salvation. By its evocation of this process, Marvell's allusion to these 'Apples' recalls that redemptive pattern of which the New Jerusalem is the consummation. As we have seen (in Chapters VII-VIII), chiliasts insisted that the New Jerusalem alone represented that consummation.

Throughout these lines the eschatological narrative is maintained in concert with the Bermudan narrative, which draws upon the literature of the Bermudas. The closest analogue is More's travelogue in Purchas.¹⁷⁴ 'the Fowl's [sent] to us in care' recall the fact that the islands contained 'Birds in great flocks that barely needed to be hunted', and that for this reason some of the islands were known as 'the Bird Ilands'.¹⁷⁵ Marvell's use of the 'Pomgranate' as a symbol may have been suggested by the same travelogue's description of 'Peares which have in them a red liquor, as the Pomgranat hath';¹⁷⁶ and the 'Melons' (22)¹⁷⁷ were indeed present on the island, planted by some settlers.

Marvell's subsumption of such Bermudan lore into his portrait of the western New Jerusalem is equally marked in the following lines: just as the pineapples of the islands served the purposes of the 'Apples', so his references to 'Cedars... [of] Lebanon', 'Ambergris' and 'Pearl' represent renovatory transformations of real features of the Bermudas. 'With Cedars, chosen by his hand,/ From Lebanon, he stores the Land.' In fact, the ubiquitous cedars on the real island were not of this type:¹⁷⁸ Marvell transforms them into 'Cedars [of] Lebanon' because these were used by Solomon to build the Temple.¹⁷⁹ Here, as in the contemporary First Anniversary, the Temple is the Latter-Day anti-type of Solomon's - that which Cromwell there 'build(s) in [his] daies': the new Temple of the Saints. This connotation is developed in a later couplet, where the sailor-Saints assert that God 'in these Rocks for us did frame/ A Temple, where to sound his Name' (31-2).

In this couplet appears another conjunction of Bermudan lore and eschatological resonance. As I have observed, the Bermudan coast was indeed distinguished by 'Rocks', and

these were taken to represent its defensible security. So, here, the 'Rocks' at once imply a secure haven of worship for the Saints (after their time of tribulation and persecution in the World-Sea); and recall the 'Rock' of the Church.

The Church is "a house founded upon the rock, when the winds blow, and the floods descend, it shall stand, it shall not fall" [Matt. vii. 25]: and as founded upon a rock, so upon the rock of rocks, Christ himself; "upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall never prevaile against her". [Matt. xvi. 18]¹⁸⁰

The fact that, in Marvell's Bermudas, this Temple is 'fram(d)' by God Himself reflects Puritan belief that the Temple of the new covenant was to be built without hands:¹⁸¹ an internal Temple, which made of the Saints themselves 'God's building' (I Cor. iii. 9). Similarly, when the divine Jeremy Taylor spoke of the Saints' 'place in another countrey' - in the New Jerusalem - he said that there they were to 'fix our house in [it], whose walls and foundation is God.'¹⁸² Similarly, this Bermudan 'Temple' is made by and contains God, in the form of 'his Name'.

A similar renovatory transformation informs Marvell's treatment of 'Ambergris'. More's account of the Bermudas cites reports of 'Amber-greece' found there.¹⁸³ In Marvell's poem his recollection of this fact is fused with an allusion to the Fortunate Isles; where, according to Pliny, 'these islands are plagued with the rotting carcasses of monstrous creatures that are constantly being cast ashore by the sea.'¹⁸⁴ These stranded whales are represented in Marvell's poem by their secretion of ambergris, cast 'on shoar'. In Blake, we remember, the pollution of the Fortunate Isles was represented by an allusion to the same source; there it had a desolating resonance, being applied to the 'carcasses' of men. Whereas, here, Marvell's renovatory vision transforms Pliny's unpleasant image into the gentle notion that the 'Seas... Proclaime the Ambergris on shoar.' This Fortunate Isle is the New Jerusalem, purged of all such images of misfortune. Moreover, to represent the stranded whales by the metonymic 'Ambergris' was to evoke solely their useful and valuable product - not their plight. This is the fortunate product of the 'Seas, that roar' - a renovatory issue from the locus of desolation.

This "fortunate" idea also animates the statement that

these are 'hollow Seas'; at the Resurrection - the human effect of the End's renovatio - 'the sea gave up the dead that were in it' (Rev. xx.13). Therefore the 'Seas' are now 'hollow', since the renovatio has been attained. In the next couplet the same renovatory inference transforms the pearls which settlers claimed to have discovered on the island¹⁸⁵ into 'The Gospels Pearl'; recalling Matthew vii.6, where the 'pearls' of the Apostles are the sacred truths, and the 'pearl of great price' (Matt. xiii.46) which was the Gospel's revelation of Christ. These found their fulfilment in the New Jerusalem, each 'gate' of which was 'one pearl' (Rev. xxi.21). In Marvell's lines, the Bermudan 'coast' where the 'Pearl' lies is the equivalent of that 'gate' in the Bermudan New Jerusalem. Moreover, the 'Temple' of the next couplet is (as we have seen) that Temple-as-God described in the next verse of Revelation: 'the Lord God Almighty [is]... the temple' of the New Jerusalem (xxi.22). Moreover, since the New Jerusalem is a spiritual paradise above all, the mariners 'rather boast' of this Pearl and Temple than of all the physical pleasures of their island.

The following couplets have given a little trouble to critics, who have searched for an accurate explanation of the 'rebounding' praise of the mariners.

Oh let our Voice his Praise exalt,
Till it arrives at Heavens Vault:
Which thence (perhaps) rebounding, may
Eccho beyond the Mexique Bay.
(33-6)

The first line enacts the purposes of the Temple, which is for them 'to sound his Name'; and confirms the occupation of the Saints in the New Jerusalem, which is precisely to 'his Praise exalt' in song. The 'rebounding' of this praise has evoked several foolish explanations;¹⁸⁶ in fact it is a statement which involves three complementary levels of meaning. First, the New Jerusalem is on earth (as it should be), and therefore the 'Praise' that reaches Heaven quite properly 'rebounds' also upon the heaven-on-earth of the Bermudan New Jerusalem. Secondly, the harmony of heaven and earth at the renovatio is here intimated by the 'Eccho', image of assent. This "harmonious" echo is exegesized by a Puritan divine, when he explains that

When we seale to the Truth of God, and cry Amen,

it is a word that fills Heaven and Earth
 ... When God says Amen in Heaven, if we
 presently can say Amen to his Truth upon
 the Earth, he will say Amen to our
 Salvation. 187

This system of "echoes" represents an accord between 'Heaven and Earth'; and it also "echoes" in the sense that it 'fills Heaven and Earth'.

These ideas link with the reference, in the last line, to 'the Mexique Bay'. It has long been recognized that this is a reference to Spanish power in the New World,¹⁸⁸ although the full implications of the reference have not been perceived. The idea that the Saints' 'Praise' may expand to cover the Spanish areas of the New World is an image of the Latter-Day imperium, and its ultimate assimilation of all the nations. In this manner it was to fulfil the nature of the Kingdom or New Jerusalem:

a fift Kingdome, which Christ should set up,
 which should so improve it selfe from a
 small beginning, as quickly to fill the whole
 earth, notwithstanding all oppositions made 189
 against it.

Here a divine indicates the nature and aim of the Saints' activism. This holy expansionism informs the image of dilating and aspiring 'Praise' in Marvell's lines. These couplets are thus an exemplum, indicating the course to be pursued by the Saints of England at the current time; and supported by a vision of their destination, the New Jerusalem of the foregoing lines. In this manner it forms a climax to the conflation, in the poem, of western colonization and the New-Jerusalem England: 'blest Fortunate isle' of renovation.

Similarly, the reference here to the enemy - Spanish Antichristian empire - is the imperial counterpart of Marvell's reference, earlier in the poem, to the domestic Antichristian threat of the 'Prelats'. Indeed, it was believed that Spain and Rome together had 'conspired to subvert the English Church by means of the Arminian heresy', the Antichristian doctrine of the 'Prelats'.¹⁹⁰ Thus the allusion to Laudian episcopacy is to a domestic threat, of which the Spaniards represent (l.36) the international counterpart. The eschatological struggle of England is against an enemy at once domestic and imperial: just as the Bermudas are at once England as New Jerusalem, and the English presence in the New World.

Thus the qualification ('perhaps') of the 'rebounding' expansion in line 35 is an indication that this 'Song' is a vision of England's destiny and her destination: a vision as yet unfulfilled, but which will 'perhaps' be fulfilled quite soon. That 'perhaps' is not ironic¹⁹¹ - it is an indication that the song is an exemplum to be enacted. The distance between vision and its fulfilment is that between Bermudas and the 'English boat', a distance the parameters of which are unknown - as we have seen. The real Bermudas are, throughout the poem, a figure of the New Jerusalem that has yet to be reached: so a 'perhaps' must close the visionary Song.

As the Song ends, the Final Image appears, in the last four lines. We are back in the 'boat', in the "frame" that contains the vision.

Thus sung they, in the English boat,
An holy and a chearful Note,
And all the way, to guide their Chime,
With falling Oars they kept the time.
(37-40)

At line 40 the poem ends, and this fact has a numerological significance. As we have seen, the passage to the New Jerusalem was generally considered the anti-type of Israel's journey to the Promised Land. Before they entered that land, the Israelites underwent a forty-year desolation in the desert; so, here, the forty lines are a numerological indication of the 'English boat's' voyage through the Latter-Day desolatio. Both desolations were understood to be purificatory, and therefore a necessary prelude to renovatio. Since the renovation - envisioned in the song they have sung - is their goal, that song is sung with 'An holy and a chearful Note': the optimism of chiliasm which animates the New Israel.

In that 'chearful Note' there is an ambiguity which introduces the moralitas of the exemplum in the poem. According to the syntax here, the 'holy and... chearful Note' is the Song: and 'Note' thus has a sense of nota bene, that the Song is to be observed as an exemplary vision of 'chearful' import. By this means Marvell introduces the moralitas: how that vision is to be attained, and the English Ship of Church and State to reach its destination. 'all the way, to guide their Chime,/ With falling Oars they kept the time.' As more than one critic has noticed, 'They might be expected [rather] to sing in order to keep their

stroke in rowing.'¹⁹² In fact, the Song is timed by the 'Oars' because the vision is brought into Time by regulated action. Here the English people (mariners) row the Ship of State towards its goal, and this must be a communal effort; both Marvell and Milton, echoing many others, insisted upon the necessity for united effort if England were to achieve the renovatio - as we have seen.

nothing more hinders the advancement of Christs Kingdome and Causes, then divisions among his people... as we pretend to have the same head [Christ] and the same causes, so we should have the same heart and the same ends... there is no noble enterprize to be waded thorow, so as to doe any great matter for the setting up Christs kingdome in the midst of so great enemies, and so great oppositions, if it be not undertaken with united strengths of many. 193

So, here, the English mariners row in concert to bring the Ship of State to its destination - an image of the unity necessary to the renovating effort. Similarly, by this means they 'kept the time'; sailing in the "interval" before fulfilment of renovatio, they row according to 'the time', obeying that injunction to act in timely fashion. As we have seen, 'keeping the time' is the proper form of eschatological action; and here, as in the First Anniversary, that timeliness is rendered by a musical image. The 'Oars' of activism thus 'keep time' in order to regulate the achievement of vision (the 'Song').

In this manner the Final Image intimates the moralitas of the poem: first, the need for unity if the national renovation were to be achieved; secondly, the need for a timely activism in the "interval" before that fulfilment. The former moral was particularly close to Marvell's heart: as he indicated in the First Anniversary, nothing so threatened the reforming effort as the faction and schism of extremists; the menace of their anarchic trend being the source of his fearful record of Cromwell's near-fatal accident. The death of the leader - seen as so desired by the factional Ranters, Quakers and Fifth Monarchists - would have caused the destruction of the reformed state; then, as the 'kings of the earth' opine, 'The Nation had been ours' - but for 'his one Soul/ [that]... animates the whole' (379-80). Their remark moralizes the foregoing account of how Cromwell rescued the Ship of State, foundering because faction had robbed it of direction. For, as Marvell stated,

nothing so scuppered the universal Christian progress as schism. No

advantage [has] accrued to mankind from that most perfect and practical model of humane society [the Christian religion] except the speculation of a better way to future happiness, concerning which the very guides disagree.

(GP, 281; my italics)

Here Marvell diagnoses the obstacle to the realization of the reformed 'humane society' - England as the New-Jerusalem state: that 'the very guides disagree', their schism and faction preventing the efforts of the Elect to achieve it. Thus, in Bermudas, only a communal and harmonious 'English boat' can sail to the New Jerusalem (as harmonious as was Cromwell's construction of his State in the First Anniversary). Moreover, here only the single and proper 'guide' is present - God Himself, 'that led us through the watry Maze.'

The second moralitas impressed by the Final Image - that of timely activism - anticipates the same injunction in the First Anniversary. This lesson of Bermudas is linked, in The Character of Holland of the same year, to the First Anniversary's assertion of vigilant action in particular.

For now of nothing may our State despair,
Darling of Heaven, and of Men the Care;
Provided that they be what they have been,
Watchful abroad, and honest still within.
(145-8)

Here, as in the First Anniversary, England will remain 'Darling of Heaven' only 'Provided that' a vigilant activism and a "true" purpose are maintained. This, the Final Image of Character of Holland, is a moralitas such as that in Bermudas' Final Image; and here it is linked, as so often, with the naval expression of England's imperial destiny.

For while our Neptune doth a Trident shake,
Steel'd with those piercing Heads, Dean, Monck and Blake.
And while Jove governs in the highest Sphere,
Vainly in Hell let Pluto domineer.
(149-52)

Here Cromwell has become the 'Neptune' of imperial power, as James I was for Jonson in Neptune's Triumph. And 'Monck and Blake', his lieutenants in the holy enterprize, received their individual eulogies of this kind in Blake and Last Instructions. The concerns common to all these poems - imperium, renovatio, sea-power, and the Fortunate Isles of the New-Jerusalem England - are also those of Bermudas; the poem takes its place as an expression of Marvell's major

concerns in the 1650s.

These poems consider the current topics of the Revolution in the light of the End, subsuming desolations into the fortunate process. In this respect Marvell obeys the orthodox injunction of chiliasm: that

Wee must not look onely at the present proceedings, our spirits must not rise or fall, onely as wee see a floud or an ebbe in the handling of Gods causes: but consider the end, as David speakes of the upright man, "marke his end, the end of that man is peace." [Psalm xxxvii.37]. Whatever the present condition should prove to bee of Christs Kingdome, yet the end of it will be peace and happinesse to Gods people. 194

The vision of an inexorable end, which is the renovatio of 'peace', is that which informs the pattern of desolatio et renovatio in which Marvell placed both the victories and the defeats of the 1650s. The fullest expression of the renovatory destination itself is to be found in Bermudas, which, associated as it was with other poems of this decade, provided an exemplary revelation for Cromwell's revolution.

CHAPTER X

A REVELATION REVEALED

This chapter is concerned to analyse The Unfortunate Lover: explicating it, in the light of Marvell's maritime images, as a parabolic expression of his reaction to the fall and regicide of Charles I. It is "private" in the sense that it was intended to conceal its real subject from all but a very small audience.

The first section introduces the sources, images and ideas that inform this poem; and the second analyses The Unfortunate Lover in the light of these. Thus it transpires that this poem can be grouped, along with the Horatian Ode and the First Anniversary, within that core of Marvell's oeuvre - the poems that actively engage with the process of history.

The chapter is succeeded by a Conclusion.

i. Private Revelations of Power

In this and the following section I am concerned to explicate Marvell's curious lyric, The Unfortunate Lover. To all critics this poem has represented a puzzle, and attempts at its explication have to date been so unconvincing that at least one critic has honestly admitted: 'I have no idea what The Unfortunate Lover means... and I have been unable to discover anyone else who can give a convincing reading of the poem.'¹ It seems, therefore, that 'this obscure and private'² lyric is deliberately cryptic - as many critics have concluded; and my account of it is intended to explain Marvell's motives for his cryptic procedure here, as well as the meaning of the poem.

In fact, that meaning is itself the source of Marvell's cryptic treatment: which is fundamentally self-protective, as in so many other Marvellian lyrics. The subsequent section will analyse the poem itself: here I want to approach both the meaning and the motives of Marvell's poem by way of the sources and images which inform the lyric.

In this relation the various attempts of critics to

explicate the poem are instructive. The poem provides a series of so-called 'emblem-like' scenes,³ portraying the tribulations of an 'Unfortunate Lover': and uses the traditional amatory motif of the Ship of the Lover⁴, which here undergoes a shipwreck. Therefore 'the passion in this poem is love, and just as obviously frustrated love';⁵ and several critics have placed the poem in the Petrarchan tradition of love-poetry, most of them concentrating upon its similarity to emblems of lovers and the trials of love, such as those of Otto Van Veen.⁶ These tend to view the poem as a biography of a "typical" and fictional Lover (viz., one without a specific identity). But two critics have taken a quite different approach. R.H. Syfret suggested that the poem might be an allegorical account of a voyage by the then Prince of Wales;⁷ and Annabel Patterson proffered the idea that the poem was connected with Charles I.⁸

Before Patterson's account of the poem came into my hands, I had concluded that the poem was connected with Charles I; and the fact that we each arrived at this conclusion independently seems itself significant. However, the nature and scope of our analyses are fundamentally different, despite some points on which we agree; in especial, I see The Unfortunate Lover as an eschatological poem, on Marvell's customary model of the problematic.

This problematic is in fact the origin of the two divergent critical approaches to the poem: for it juxtaposes a "Petrarchan" narrative with the political narrative. Marvell's procedure causes the traditional image of the Petrarchan Lover to cohere with a political image of Charles I as 'Philogenes', the Lover of his people: an image which Marvell obtained from the Caroline masque. In this manner the poem records Marvell's evaluation of Charles I's fall; a topical subject, since the poem has long been dated to 1648-9,⁹ the years of defeat and regicide. The poem's account of Civil War and the King's "tragedy" thus answers E.E. Duncan-Jones' observation that 'some substratum of fact remains to be detected in The Unfortunate Lover.'¹⁰

Similarly, it has been observed that this poem appears to be written for some 'coterie',¹¹ which would have understood its recondite subject. In fact, Marvell's audience would have been that circle of court-poets amongst whom he moved at the

time:¹² and to one of whose poems he alludes in the course of the lyric,¹³ presumably as a compliment to that audience. This group would have been at once, as Royalists, sympathetic to his subject; responsive to his use of the Petrarchan tradition; and familiar with the court-masques from which Marvell derives the character of his political narrative.

Indeed, Marvell explicitly alludes to the masque in the fourth stanza of his poem: describing the scenes there portrayed as 'This masque of quarrelling Elements'. This reference is amplified by other theatrical metaphors in the poem: which twice puns on 'play', and remarks the 'spectacle' (i,vi). It has been observed that the poem as a whole has a 'stridently theatrical' quality, which has evoked derogatory comment.¹⁴ In fact this theatrical format is, as in Appleton House, an enaction of the metaphor of history as theatre. By means of this format Charles' history is placed within its proper context, as an act within the great drama of history.

As in the Horatian Ode, Charles is a destined 'Actor' in the historical drama. His portrayal as such in the 'masque' of The Unfortunate Lover is particularly apt, because of his notorious ^{ferocity} for - and participation in - the masques presented at his own Court.¹⁵ Princes were anyway regarded as 'Players' who acted for a national audience¹⁶ - a fact recalled by Marvell in his Upon the Death of O.C.:

The People...

blame the last Act, like Spectators vain,
Unless the Prince whom they applaud be slain.
(7-10)

The 'spectacle' of Charles as The Unfortunate Lover gives the 'People' what they want. Here Charles even declaims, just as an actor should ('all he saies',vii); he is both seen and "heard".

The theatrical presentation of Charles in this poem is even more apt than these ideas suggest. For it is especially pertinent that a poem concerning his fall from power should imitate his own masques: which were themselves expressions and justifications of his rule. The masques presented at Charles' Court were favourable images of absolutism, and propaganda for his central policies; animated symbols of royal power.¹⁷ Self-confirming versions of Charles' fondest delusions,¹⁸ the masques (recalled by Marvell's poem) thus reveal the causes of Charles' fall: the king who was a successful ruler only on the

stage of his own Court¹⁹ is appropriately portrayed as merely a masquer. 'he in Story only rules' (viii); the 'masque' of the poem at once delineates Charles in his own terms, and represents the fallacies fostered by those terms.

In this theatrical form, the poem's veiled allusions to its royal subject achieve their particular resonance. The 'Unfortunate Lover' is one who acts in history, destined 'To make impression upon Time'; whose birth and death are attended by the portents proper to such royal events (i-iii). He is an 'Heir' (iv) and 'rules' (viii). The less perceptible allusions of the poem to its royal subject can only be understood after some attention to the Caroline masques themselves: and, in particular, to two masques which provide analogues for Marvell's poem.

First, it is necessary to understand that these masques were regarded not as mythic formulations, but as idealizations of current realities. The monarchical claims asserted therein were believed to be accurate representations of the power that the monarchy actually possessed; and the masque was an abstract version of politics and power.²⁰ Thus art was itself power, and power a form of art.²¹ It is, therefore, appropriate that Marvell's masque-poem should be an image of political reality; his irony here being that Charles' ruin is portrayed in the mode which had been used to idealize his power.

The political assertiveness of the Caroline masques had not been lost upon Charles' Puritan antagonists. They recognised that the self-congratulatory politics of the masque provided 'the monarchy... with an impenetrable insulation against the attitudes of the governed.'²² To condemn court masques - as William Prynne had done in Histrion-Mastix - was correctly seen as an act of rebellion.²³ The masque was symbolic of everything that such Puritans most disliked about Stuart rule: an example of decadence and an assertion of absolutism.²⁴ Such views were shared even by the monarchist Marvell, an implacable enemy of absolutism; and that he too condemned the mores of the Court is evident from his satires of courtly amours and affectation in Daphnis and Chloë and Mourning. It was recognized that such court arts as the masque were 'an index to a deep malaise':²⁵ something which Marvell's evocation of 'masque' in this poem recalls.

Moreover, Prynne had declared that watching plays was 'the cause of untimely ends in Princes':²⁶ an ironic prophecy of Charles' ruin that is, no doubt, pertinent to Marvell's poem.

The ironies of Marvell's use of the masque-form in this lyric are mitigated by the other level of the image - its ability to place Charles within the historical drama. As we have seen, Marvell's view of Charles was a complex one, since he regarded this king as at once the rightful ruler, and also as too weak to retain those 'ancient Rights'; as the dupe of the bishops, betrayed into absolutism. The portrait of Charles in this poem reflects the complexity of that view. Charles as masquer is seen in the terms he himself chose, and those terms are to that degree respectful as well as ironic. The masque-form was itself regarded as an expression of loyalty because of its identification with the monarch;²⁷ and Marvell's use of it here is a confirmation of his royalist sympathy. As we shall see, the key to Charles' portrait in this poem is that he is there - as perhaps he was in reality - a "noble idiot", a righteous man in error. The Unfortunate Lover is at once a memorial^{to} and an evaluation of this failed monarch. In this manner the poem reflects the nature of the masque itself, which was understood to be instructive.²⁸

Thus it is not surprising that there was a precedent for Marvell's combination, in his 'masque', of loyalty and criticism. In 1634 the legal profession had attempted to persuade Charles to alter his policies, by embodying their advice in the loyal form of a masque: to speak to him in his own terms.²⁹ Marvell may intend, in his poem, a similar communication with his courtly audience: to moralize their king's fall. For this purpose the "generalizing", exemplary character of the poem - and its "typing" of Charles as The Unfortunate Lover - is an appropriate mode.³⁰ It is a heightening or idealization of reality, as the masque itself was.

Similarly, while the poem's "emblematic" quality maintains its Petrarchan fiction, it also recalls the character of masque as a series of animated emblems. The scenic succession of the poem's incidents, and its cryptic images, are equally representative of masques. One critic; indeed, has asserted that 'In this poem, Marvell... is attempting a mediation between verbal and visual arts';³¹ the

true model for this 'mediation' is in fact the masque, which was the form that most readily combined these two arts.³²

Moreover, the masque-form was especially appropriate to Marvell's use, here, of the "theatre of history". The fall and ruin of Charles was a catastrophe of the kind that challenged the chiliast to reconcile it with the fortunate character of history. That fortunate design was usefully reflected by the masque-form: for masques, opening with an 'antimasque' of some unfortunate character, then proceeded to expel the antimasque - the main masque celebrating that expulsion. In this manner masque-form provided an ineluctably fortunate pattern; which in Marvell's poem could intimate the ultimately happy issue of the historical drama. The masque-form therefore implies that the tragedy of Charles is part of a larger "comedic" movement, an implication of great importance to the chiliastic view. And, as we shall see, the poem deliberately recalls the antimasque-masque pattern, in a significant way.

Just as the masque-form could intimate the great Design of the historical drama, it was also appropriate to a particular "moment" of crisis in that Design. For court masques were always topical, reflecting some current political subject;³³ accordingly, in this poem the 'masque' treats the current crisis of Charles' ruin.

In this manner the poem's masque-form is condign to its subject, on several levels. Its mixture of positive and negative connotations for Charles is seconded by the poem's peculiar tone. The oddity of that tone has been a puzzle to its critics: it has been described as at once hyperbolic and compassionate, ridiculous and poignant in the portrait of its central figure.³⁴ In fact, as I have suggested, Marvell's view of Charles was such as to produce this mixture. Moreover, that mixed tone is particularly appropriate to the poem's "masque", since masques were themselves mixtures of comedy and higher emotions (the comedy usually being provided by the antimasque).³⁵ In Marvell's poem, as in the masque, poignancy is stronger than comedy; and, also as in masque, the "ceremonial" content of the poem implies its fundamental seriousness. The pathos here reflects Charles the "noble", the comedy pertains to his "idiocy"; the mixture, however, is extremely delicate.

This "double" attitude to Charles is reflected by the problematic: which portrays him as, on one level, a faintly ridiculous version of the Petrarchan lover. On the other, he is Philogenes, the Lover of his People. This latter narrative, and its association with masque, are illuminated by two particular Caroline masques. In the next section, I shall be discussing some parallels between these masques and Marvell's poem; here, it is necessary to show how these parallels came about. The narratives and images of these masques represent the background of thought which informs Marvell's lyric.

The first of these masques was Love's Triumph Through Callipolis, one of Charles' assertions of his 'divine kingship'.³⁶ In this, as in 'all masques the celebration of virtue and love is also an assertion of divine power':³⁷ the monarch's embodiment of Love is his power.³⁸ The masques' identification of 'Love' with power - their sanctification of the king as 'Lover' - is what informs Marvell's portrait of Charles as a typical 'Lover'. In Love's Triumph, Charles is celebrated as the 'heroical' lover - the "highest" sort:³⁹ just as, in Marvell's poem, the Lover is an heroic figure who 'nak'd and fierce dost stand/ Cuffing the Thunder with one hand' (vii), Love's Triumph portrays Charles' Court as 'Callipolis', the home of true and virtuous love: 'Love, who was wont to be respected as a special deity in court, and tutelar god of the place' (20-21). The Court's 'true' Love is contrasted with those vicious types of Love represented by the antimasquers: who are seen 'expressing their confused affections in the scenical persons and habits of the four prime European nations.'⁴⁰ In this manner England's Love-power is contrasted to the false forms of Love-power manifested in other kingdoms. This political moral lies behind the 'depraved lovers' of the antimasque: amongst whom are 'An adventurous romance lover', 'a fantastic umbrageous lover', 'An angry quarrelling lover' and 'A melancholic despairing lover.'⁴¹ In the masque these vicious "types" are dispelled by Charles, the 'heroical Lover'.

In Marvell's poem, the 'Unfortunate Lover' quite evidently displays - at one time or another - all these 'depraved' characteristics. He is both 'adventurous' and 'romantic', as well as 'fantastic'; he is certainly 'umbrageous' - 'No Day he

saw' (iii). He is also 'melancholic' and 'despairing': 'at his Eyes he alwaies bears' 'bitter Tears', and 'Sighs' (iii). His capacity for 'angry quarrelling' is displayed in the 'fierce' Lover of the seventh stanza. All these 'depraved' characteristics co-exist with his 'heroical' nature; Marvell has conflated the "types" of both masque and antimasque in his portrait of Charles - revealing his "weakness" as a Lover, and thereby also his weakness as a king. (In the terms of the masques, king and Lover are the same.) In this manner Marvell's 'Lover' is an ironic adaptation of the ideal 'heroic' Charles of Love's Triumph, and of comparable masques.

Similarly, Marvell's backdrop of the Sea (ii-vii) imitates that of many masques; and the same backdrop appears in Love's Triumph. There the triumph of Love takes place in 'The prospect of a sea', and the royal Lover arrives by boat; images which reflect the usual associations of sea-power.⁴² Equally, in Marvell's poem the Lover is carried by a ship, from which he is 'brought forth': an adaptation of the masque's "coming of Love" by ship. There Charles meets with Henrietta Maria as 'Queen of Love', and their 'perfect love' is celebrated as a symbol of ideal government.⁴³ In relation to this concept of love-as-government, the 'sea' here represents both vicissitudes and passions: which that Love-as-government controls. The sea is thus at once a metaphor for political unrest and for violent passion.⁴⁴ The same combination in the metaphor appears, as we shall see, in The Unfortunate Lover. Equally significant for Marvell's poem is the masques' general equation of Love and power.

This equation takes, in the masque of Salmacida Spolia (1640),⁴⁵ a rather different characterization of Charles the Lover from that of the earlier masque: here he is 'Philogenes' - "Lover of his People". This, the very last of the Caroline masques, anticipates the posthumous hagiography of Charles, by portraying him as a king patient of his subjects' fury:⁴⁶ it is full of ironic premonitions of his fate in the Civil War. Moreover, the imagery and the narrative of this masque are very similar to those of Marvell's poem.

The proscenium arch of the masque - which traditionally defined the dramatic action⁴⁷ - displays symbols of Charles' royal virtues:⁴⁸ some of which, like the imagery of the masque itself, hint at martyrdom - anticipating the popular image of Charles as Martyr. Here are represented the figures of Reason,

Intellectual Appetite, Counsel, Resolution, Fame, Prudence, and Affection to the Country. Also present in the frieze is Prosperous Success, 'with the rudder of a ship': that is, of the Ship of State. Other virtues present in the frieze are specifically Christian: for example, 'Doctrine', 'Innocence', and 'Forgetfulness of Injuries'.⁴⁹ These qualities are the means by which Charles is seen to resolve the disturbances of the state: the moralitas of the masque being that he 'seeks... to reduce tempestuous and turbulent natures into a sweet calm of civil concord.'⁵⁰ These political disorders are represented by the antimasque: 'Discord' appears in a storm and, 'having already put most of the world into disorder, endeavours to disturb these parts.'⁵¹ Britain is thus a Fortunate Isle where the ungrateful people raise needless discontents:⁵² the latter signified by the 'Storms' and 'Winds' of Discord. The antimasque is dispersed by the 'secret power' and 'sacred wisdom' of the king, 'under the name of Philogenes or Lover of his People.'⁵³ These 'secret' powers are intended at once to represent that "love of the gens", and the beneficent absolutism of the king; as in other masques, his power over Nature - and especially over the unruly sea - is in fact an assertion of absolutism. The rewards of that protective power are similarly stated in terms of 'Love': in return for the king's 'prudence for reducing the threatening storm', Pallas sends down from Heaven his queen, Henrietta Maria.⁵⁴

Although Charles-Philogenes is victorious in the masque, his characterization is quite different from the 'heroical' Lover of Love's Triumph. The pre-eminent qualities of this Philogenes are patience and endurance:⁵⁵ a victim's rather than a victor's virtues. As such they presage posthumous portraits of Charles, such as that in Eikon Basilike of Charles the Martyr. Yet Philogenes is still seen as a "higher" version of love, counterpointed by the 'mad lovers' and 'amorous courtier' of the antimasque:⁵⁶ they represent rebellious political passions, curbed by Philogenes' order-inspiring love. He brings peace to the land: the allusion of the title being to the 'spoils of peace'.⁵⁷

The apotheosis of 'peace' in the masque is ironic in view of the real 'Discord' which broke out in England only a year later; and which the king did not manage to suppress. That irony is the key to Marvell's use of the theme and imagery that appear in this masque: The Unfortunate Lover is an ironic inversion of the narrative of Salmacida Spolia. With

hindsight, Marvell's Philogenes becomes the 'Unfortunate' Lover of his People - the long-recognised 'frustrated love' of Marvell's protagonist is that of Charles as Philogenes, repudiated by his people. Thus - as we shall see - the poem imports and adapts the imagery of this masque, providing an ironic historical gloss upon Charles' self-portrait there.

To Charles-as-Philogenes Marvell adds some echoes of Josiah, the 'righteous king' who ruled Israel in the Old Testament. An allusion to Josiah was discovered in the last stanza, by E.E. Duncan-Jones;⁵⁸ and Annabel Patterson related to this some sermons for the king which explicitly compared him to Josiah.⁵⁹ Neither of these commentators, however, has seen that there is a recollection of Josiah in the central section of the poem; and that recollection is specifically Puritan, reflecting Marvell's diagnosis of Charles' fall. This reference will be discussed in the following section.

For the moment it is sufficient to recall that Marvell understood power to be a providential dispensation. 'I take the magistrate's power to be from God, only in a providential constitution',⁶⁰ which may by the same token remove or transfer that power when necessary. When the magistrate could not effect the reformation of the state - a perennial necessity - 'this work... falls to the Peoples share, from which God defend every good Government' (RT, 239-40). This "reformation by rebellion" had been the case in the Civil War, as Marvell saw it: and The Unfortunate Lover is a masque-like account of that process. As in the Horatian Ode, Marvell here portrays Providence at work in the destruction of a king.

ii. Revelation of a Royal Tragedy

As I have indicated, the problematic of The Unfortunate Lover involves, on the one hand, a "Petrarchan narrative" of the traditional type of the disappointed lover: on the other hand, a "Political narrative" in which that disappointed Lover is Charles, the frustrated Philogenes. The generalized Petrarchan "type" of the 'Unfortunate Lover' is a means whereby Charles' fall may also be universalized: absorbed into the universal pattern of history. For Marvell thus to "place" his defeated monarch is in some ways a consolatory procedure as well as, chiliastically, a necessary one: as it was in his Ode.

The manner in which the poem's narrative is historicized and universalized becomes evident in the first stanza.

Alas, how pleasant are their dayes
 With whom the Infant Love yet playes!
 Sorted by pairs, they still are seen
 By Fountains cool, and Shadows green.
 But soon these Flames do lose their light,
 Like Meteors of a Summers night:
 Nor can they to that Region climb,
 To make impression upon Time.
 (i)

The poem thus opens with a generalization. Some lovers are destined for a tranquil amour, which cannot raise them to a level where they might make an historical 'impression'; the 'Unfortunate Lover', however, can make such an historical impression. The meteoric 'Region' was understood to be that of Time,⁶¹ and it is assumed that the Unfortunate Lover can 'climb' thereto because his love is of a somewhat grander sort than that of those 'With whom the Infant Love yet playes'. Their 'Infant Love' - although in one sense Cupid - is also 'Infant' in time: it has not "grown up" to Time in the way that the Unfortunate Lover's has: thus the comparison of the two loves is a temporal one, the 'Unfortunate Lover' alone being "adult". This difference in the scale of the two loves is proper to that between personal love - 'Sorted by pairs' - and Charles' "national" love as Philogenes: a monarch's love for his people necessarily touches history, 'make(s) impression upon Time'.

This establishment, in the first stanza, of the context of 'Time' and history is the setting for the poem as a whole. Private loves are 'Like Meteors of a Summers night', transient as their lives: a monarchical love makes more enduring meteoric 'impressions' because it participates in the general destiny. 'To make impression' can mean "to attack",⁶² and this pun reflects a king's engagement with history. The first stanza's suggestion of a relationship between 'Time' and 'Love' implies that Time overtakes sublunary lovers, whereas the Unfortunate Lover catches up with Time - 'climb(s)' to it.

A similar relationship between Time and Love is suggested in Salmacida Spolia.

Time never knew the mischiefs of his haste!
 Nor can you force him stay
 To keep off day.
 Make then fit use of triumphs here!

...
 Move then like Time, for Love as well as he
 Hath got a calendar,
 Where must appear

How ev'nly you these measures tread.⁶³

Here the initial lines suggest the transience of love in time, urging the carpe diem idea; while the latter lines require that the masquers' dance must 'Move... like Time', be in step with Time. Only then can it express the enduring power of Love-as-Order, which the masque's triumph celebrates. That reasoning informs the similar distinction made in Marvell's first stanza.

The temporal motif, initiated here, remains operative throughout the poem: and assumes a specifically eschatological character. The first stanza indicates that this Lover engages with Time; and in the last stanza his tribulations are traced to the fact that he was 'by the Malignant Starrs,/ Forced to live in Storms and Warrs'. Thus the Lover's sufferings are caused by his living at an 'Unfortunate' time; a moment of time distinguished by 'Storms and Warrs'. This link between Time and the Lover is reinforced by the implication of destiny: the Lover 'Forced' to live thus by the 'Starrs' of Fate. These - Time (history) and Fate - are the elements of eschatology, the destined pattern of history: and this is the context of the Lover's tragedy. This eschatological context reveals the poem's title in its true sense: 'The Un-fortunate Lover' is 'fortune's' victim, a casualty of the eschatological process. History is the proper context of Charles' tragedy.

This temporal and eschatological context is developed at several levels. The diurnal and seasonal pattern is evoked by references to 'dayes' and 'night' (i,iii,vi), and to 'Summer' (i). The narrative of the poem is made insistently temporal: 'yet', 'still', 'soon' (i); 'when', 'ere', 'at the last' (ii); 'alwaies', 'While' (iii); 'While' (iv); 'soon', 'still', 'while' (v); moving to the dramatic moment, 'And now...' (vi). This insistence on the temporal process of the Lover's history is reinforced by evocations of the general pattern of life and death: which at once generalize his situation, and also reflect the tendency of life towards the telos - towards the individual's parallel version of the universal eschaton. That parallel is made quite explicit.

First, the pattern of generation is established, springing from the first stanza's reference to an 'Infant': the second stanza evokes the 'Mother' and birth of the Lover. The fourth stanza recalls the 'Birth'; and the fifth relates it to the teleological pattern, by referring to 'Life and Death'.

The eschatological counterpart of this pattern is invoked in the third stanza, which alludes to 'the Fun'ral of the World' - the Last Day. To characterize the universal eschaton as a 'Fun'ral' is to relate individual ends - for which 'Fun'rals' are usual - to the general End. Similarly, since the poem records the biography of the Lover, it moves from his 'Birth' in stanza ii to his 'dying' in stanza viii; the end of the poem is also his end. In this manner the whole poem is built upon the teleological pattern.

Moreover, the time in which the Lover is 'Forced' to live is characterized as the Latter Days. He lives in an age of 'Storms and Warrs', the Latter-Day desolatio: and the scene of his sufferings is marked by apocalyptic imagery.

No Day he saw but that which breaks,
Through frightened Clouds in forked streaks.
While round the ratling Thunder hurl'd,
As at the Fun'ral of the World.
(iii)

Within this Latter-Day setting the Lover is, like the fishers of Appleton House, portrayed as an 'Amphibium' (v) - an inhabitant of the confusion of land and sea that prefaces the End: he is caught between the 'Rock' and the 'Waves' in a landscape of desolation (vii). This Latter-Day locale is framed by the metaphor of 'masque', which places it within the theatre of history. Thus the scenic progress of the Lover's narrative becomes itself an eschatological drama, of which the arbiters are 'Time' (i), 'Heaven', 'Fortune' (vi), and the 'Starrs' (viii).

The universalization of the Lover's tragedy is, as we have seen, indicated in the first stanza. There also the "tragic" mood is established by the opening word of the poem, 'Alas...'. In later stanzas, the anatomization of the Lover - 'Eyes', 'Breast' (iii), 'Heart' (v), 'Breath' (v), 'Blood' (vi,vii), 'brest' (vi), 'hand' (vii), 'Wounds' (vii), 'Ear' (viii) - has a similarly generalizing effect; and the apothegmic description of him as 'Th'Amphibium of Life and Death' (v) implies that he is a figure of universal relevance. Again, the psychomachia of his conflict is formalized by abstractions - 'Hopes' and 'Despair' (v) - which also contribute to the depersonalization of his situation; as well as imitating the psychomachias common in masque. The Lover's narrative assumes a sharply "existential" character, especially due to the 'masque of quarrelling Elements' (iv); that are detailed throughout the poem in an undescriptive, universalized manner. Thus, in addition to such general concepts

as 'Nature' and 'Heaven', Marvell introduces 'Flames' (i,vi), 'Waves' (ii,vi,vii), 'Seas' (ii), 'Winds' (ii), 'Rock' (ii), 'Stone' (ii), 'Clouds' (iii), 'Thunder' (iii), 'Hurricane' (iv), and so on. Similarly, the Lover's existence consists solely of conflict and subsistence: 'fed... digested... fed... famish... feast' (v). This existential and universalized narrative characterizes the Lover as a "type"; but he is a masquer, not an emblem. Thus the poem is given dramatic movement by the disturbed language of conflict ('frighted', 'quarrelling', 'insulting', 'cruel', 'doubtful' [iii-v]), and especially by the violence of the verbs: 'drave', 'split', 'surging', 'roar', 'breaks', 'forked', 'ratling', 'hurl'd', 'cuffing' (ii-vii). In this manner Marvell's central figure is made at once "typical" and dynamic.

In the light of this universalized and eschatological context, it is possible to understand the narrative of the poem. Stanza i, as I have indicated, treats the fortunate lovers with whom this Lover contrasts: they reside in a pastoral locale of 'Fountains cool, and Shadows green', which counterpoints the stormy landscape of the rest of the poem - the world of the Lover. In fact this first stanza stands, in relation to the rest, as antimasque to masque: this calm antimasque is dispelled by the stormy masque itself, of 'quarrelling Elements'. Marvell's structure here represents an ironic inversion of the normal masque-movement: for, normally, the antimasque provides an image of disorder, which is dispersed by a masque representing the triumph of order. (And in many masques one of these elements involved a pastoral scene.⁶⁴) Similarly, there was an hierarchy of players in the masque: the antimasquers being professional actors, while the masquers were courtiers.⁶⁵ Here the antimasque becomes an image of order, the masque a narrative of disorder; reversing their usual roles. But the masque-movement is preserved by the hierarchical difference between the sub-lunary lovers of stanza i's antimasque, and the transcendent royal Lover of the masque.

Marvell's inversion of the natures of masque and anti-masque is, as I have said, an ironic one. In the Caroline masque the dramatic movement is from conflict to calm; in Salmacida, for instance, it represents the resolution of political unrest. In Marvell's poem, the movement is from peace to political turbulence: imitating England's descent

into Civil War. As we shall see, stanzas ii and iii are images of that War. In this fashion Marvell intimates that history has reversed the optimistic moral of the Caroline masque: whereas in his own Court Charles was able to imagine that he could suppress rebellion, the recent history of England had proved him mistaken. By imitating this historical fact in the reversal of masque-structure, Marvell makes an ironic comment upon the delusions of the Caroline masque.

The masque had portrayed absolutist power as a 'secret wisdom' which could tame the natural world: political power was seen as a magical control of such phenomena as Sea and Wind.⁶⁶ Such abstract images of power anodised its less pleasant aspects, even as they sanctified that power. In Marvell's poem that motif undergoes a reversal, similar to his reversal of masque-structure itself. Whereas Charles in the court-masques - and especially in Salmacida - controlled and calmed the political 'Sea', as Marvell's Unfortunate Lover he becomes its victim.

'Twas in a Shipwrack, when the Seas
Rul'd, and the Winds did what they please,
That my poor Lover floting lay,
And, e're brought forth, was cast away:
Till at the last the Master-Wave
Upon the Rock his Mother drave,
And there she split against the Stone,
In a Cesarian Section.
(ii)

From this 'Birth' (iv) here to his death in stanza viii, Charles is a victim - whether of 'Sea', 'Cormorants' or 'Flames'. Such a characterization is an ironic reversal of his dominance in Caroline masques: whereas, there, he ruled the political 'Seas', here 'the Seas/ Rul'd' - usurping his monarchical function. The cause of this reversal is the Civil War, which the stanza portrays in symbolic terms.

In the masques - especially in Salmacida and Love's Triumph - the 'Sea' had been at once an image of mutability and a symbol of the passions: over which Charles had exercised control.⁶⁷ Here the Petrarchan narrative is supported by the traditional image of the Lover's passions as 'seas' which torment his Ship of Love, and subject him to the vicissitudes of Fortune.⁶⁸ On the level of the political narrative, those 'seas' are - as in the masques - symbolic of the turbulent state. Thus the combination of narratives in this stanza imitates the dual function of the sea-image in the masques themselves: where it had signified both personal and political

"passions".

The plot of this stanza is a symbolic rendition of the Civil War, in terms which allow the conflation of Petrarchan and political metaphors. Thus the 'Sea' is, in this sense, that of the political World; the Ship is at once the Ship of Love and the Ship of State; and the 'Shipwreck' is the Civil War, the foundering of that Ship of State. Once these symbols are understood, the images in the stanza that have so puzzled critics - the 'Mother', the 'Rock', and the 'Cesarian Section' - reveal themselves as coherent elements of the narrative.

First, as I have indicated, Marvell was accustomed to use 'Sea' or 'Waters' as an image of the state: as the masques had done. So, here, the 'Seas' that usurp the 'ruler's' function intimate Charles' people in rebellion.⁶⁹ Thus the stormy sea of political unrest here imitates that of Salmacida, where 'These storms the people's giddy fury raise' (361). The storm - further described in the next stanza of the poem - was a common metaphor for war, and Marvell had used it in this sense in Ingelo (111). In Eikon Basilike, the frontispiece showed the martyrdom of Charles I against a background of stormclouds and a turbulent sea; and here, as there, that background signifies the rebellion of the Civil War.

The 'storm' of the Civil War effected, as Marvell saw it, a necessary reformation - albeit in a precipitate manner. The necessity of reformation in the state was compared by him to a ship's need for propulsion by 'disturbance'.

How should [politicians]... arrive at their design'd port,
but by disturbance? for if there were a dead calm always,
and the Wind blew from no corner, there would be no
Navigation.

(RT, 232)

Here, in the RT, Marvell suggests that the Ship of State requires reformatory 'disturbance' if it is to progress. In The Unfortunate Lover such a stormy disturbance drives the Ship of State to its 'Shipwreck'; the Civil War was an extreme form of reformation which has a necessarily "wrecking" issue. The 'Seas' and 'Winds' of the people's rebellion are the agents of this ruin. In this stanza Marvell intimates what he reiterated in his later works, that the Civil War was an unfortunately extreme version of a necessary reformation. And he indicates this thought by means of the Ship of State metaphor, whereby the reformers themselves had justified rebellion.

Moreover, the erring Ship of State in this stanza

reflects also Stuart misgovernment; for, as I have indicated, Marvell himself saw Charles' absolutism as the cause of his downfall. This misgovernment is signified by the helpless course of the Ship of State here: and this 'steerless' metaphor was used elsewhere by Marvell as an image of confusion. 'no man knows whither away [it]... may be driven, or what port It is bound to, and whether it do not sail without steerage, compass, or anchor' (Howe, 188). The application of this "wandering Ship" to the idea of misgovernment is made clear by another chiliast's account of incompetent monarchs:

some of these mightie ones shew themselves but little better than the [low]... When as they that ought to gouverne the sterne of the Commonwealth, let all go at randome... letting themselves be carried headlong by the tempest of their owne strong and furious passions, into imminent danger of shipwrecks: when as their carefull watchfulnesse ... ought to serue them for sailscables, ankrs, masts, and skuttles, whereby to gouverne and direct the vessel whose steersman they are appointed... so this ship being deprived of her gouvernor, is let loose and laid open to the mercie of the waues, violence of windes, and rage of tempests, 70 without any direction or gouvernement.

Similarly, in Marvell's poem the king - who was understood to be the 'steersman' of the Ship of State - lies helpless: 'my poor Lover floting lay', unable or unwilling to steady the course of the State. The formulation here - 'my poor Lover' - mixes criticism with pathos, for Charles-Philogenes as the victim of his people. Charles was both a 'poor' steersman and a pathetic figure; he is here, as always for Marvell, both a rightful and a fatally weak king.

To formulate Charles' fall, the notion of a 'shipwrack' is especially pertinent: because one of his most provocative acts had been the imposition of "Ship-Money", and of this fact Marvell here makes ironic use. The issue of Ship-Money had been a part of Charles' generally absolutist mode of government.⁷¹ To see how Marvell intimates the destructive consequence of Charles' absolutism, it is instructive to compare with this stanza a passage from the RT: in which Marvell discusses the causes of the Civil War. Charles I, he asserts, was the dupe of the bishops.

For they having gained this Ascendent upon him, resolv'd whatever became on't to make their best of him; and having made the whole business of State their Arminian Jangles, and the persecution for Ceremonies, did for recompence assign him that imaginary absolute Government, upon which Rock we all ruined.

(134; my italics)

Absolutist illusions were thus the 'Rock' upon which the State foundered; so, in this stanza, the Ship of State is driven 'Upon the Rock' of absolutism. Here and in RT that metaphor expresses the occurrence of Civil War.

Another of the stanza's metaphors has proved as difficult for critics to explain as the 'Rock': the lover's 'mother'. It is evident from the stanza itself that the 'mother' is the Ship, and so it has been understood⁷²: however, that in itself does not explain the maternal metaphor. Rather, if the Ship is the Ship of State, then the 'mother' is also the State - England. In one of his prose works Marvell did indeed call her 'our mother of England', of whom Englishmen are 'sons' (Smirke, 10). So, here, Charles is the royal "son" of England.

A similarly political idea informs the equally difficult metaphor, of his birth by 'Caesarian Section'. This metaphor is linked to that of the 'mother' 'split against the Stone'. This split is that of the mother - of her womb: and thus reflects a 'split' in the English nation. It is, in effect, an image of divisive Civil War. (Cf. a similarly "divisive" image for the War in the Horatian Ode, where Cromwell 'Did thorough his own Side / His fiery way divide!')

This meaning is developed in the metaphor of 'Caesarian Section'. On the level of the Petrarchan narrative, this recalls Lucretius' description of the normal child's birth, as E.E. Duncan-Jones noted; and 'is the effect of an accident in which nature copies the accoucheur's art'.⁷³ On the level of the political narrative it is an image of the Civil War, elaborating the 'split'. As in the Horatian Ode, Marvell is here recalling a Roman Parallel for the Civil War, for the Roman Civil War between Caesar and Pompey began when Caesar crossed the Rubicon, effecting a 'section' of the Roman State into Civil War. This is the political significance of the 'Caesarian Section', evoking both Caesar's "crossing" ('section') and its issue of Civil War. Moreover, it recalls also Caesar's own "unnatural birth" - the source of this natal term - as a portent of his political destiny. Civil War is an "unnatural birth" in the Mother - State, which does violence to the national mother herself.

One may compare to this "birth" of faction Marvell's analogous image in The Character of Holland, where the Ship of the Church was 'split', spawning a multitude of sects.

When Religion did self imbark
And from the East would Westward steer its Ark,
It struck, and splitting on this unknown ground,
Each one thence pillag'd the first piece he found:
Hence Amsterdam, Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew,
Staple of Sects and Mint of Schisme grew.
(67-72)

Here the implicit idea of an unnatural birth - its progeny displaying incongruous or "mongrel" characteristics - is analogous to that in The Unfortunate Lover's national "birth".

By the sectioning of Ship of State, Charles is 'cast away': repudiated by the nation, as the pun here indicates. This event occurs 'e're [he is] brought forth': before, that is, his reign is 'brought forth' - fully revealed - in the theatre of history. Charles has had no chance to prove himself by the issue of his policies, by what he "brings forth". In this manner Marvell condenses his idea - expressed, as we saw, in the RT - that Charles would eventually have effected reformation, and that therefore the Civil War was precipitate. So, here, Charles is 'e're brought forth ... cast away'.

By means of the 'Cesarian Section' of Civil War, Charles is "delivered" to the waters: to, that is, the mercy of his people. (For, as I have said, the furious waters are here - as in the First Anniversary - the people.) Thus 'my poor Lover floting lay', at the mercy of those "waters". In this fashion Marvell reverses the motifs of Caroline masque: in which Charles controlled the waters / people. There he possessed a power over all natural phenomena; in this poem he remains throughout their victim, tortured 'betwixt the Flames and Waves' (vi). By this reversal Marvell dramatizes the ruin of royal power, and provides an ironic comment upon the delusions of the Court masques. In those masques Charles had been, year after year, the 'heroic Lover': here he is reduced to 'my poor Lover'.

This narrative of royal ruin explicates the critical problem of this "birth", which is simultaneously a "death". Commenting on the 'shipwreck', one critic has remarked that 'What the poet so wittily figures as a birth is a moment

which is usually, of course, that of death. If a birth, it is on all counts a most perverse and unnatural one'.⁷⁴ I have indicated why the birth is "unnatural"; and it is a 'death' for similarly political reasons. Until the defeat of Civil War, Charles was the monarch; Civil War transforms him into a more doubtful figure. It is at once the "death" of his power, and the "birth" of his character as 'The Unfortunate Lover'; the death of the masques' 'heroical' Lover and birth of his 'Unfortunate' counterpart. This "death" of his power is complemented by the people's usurpation of power: 'the Seas / Rul'd', the birth of an unnatural power.

The close relationship of the metaphors, in this stanza, with those of the masques is particularly evident by comparison with Salmacida Spolia: which provides analogues for stanzas ii - iv. Marvell's stanzas create an image of storm and discord:

'Twas in a shipwrack, when the seas
Rul'd, and the Winds did what they please,
That my poor Lover floting lay ...

The Sea him lent these bitter Tears,
Which at his Eyes he alwaies bears.
And from the Winds the sighs he bore,
Which through his surging Breast do roar.
No Day he saw but that which breaks,
Through frightened clouds in forked streaks.
While round the ratling Thunder hurl'd,
As at the Fun'ral of the World.

While Nature to his Birth presents
This masque of quarrelling Elements.
(ii - iv).

Masques often included such 'quarrelling Elements'⁷⁵; here the 'masque of quarrelling Elements' provides natural symbols for the discord of Civil War. In Salmacida Spolia, the rebellious Discord of the English people was represented in a similar manner. The antimasque opens, as 'A curtain flying up, a horrid scene appeared of storm and tempest' (111), and these were due to 'the people's giddy fury' (361). Similarly, in stanza iii the Unfortunate Lover, Charles, is subjected to an apocalyptic scene of 'Thunder' and 'Lightning', and a 'mad Tempest' (vi): all of which represent the Latter-Day Revolution in England.

This scene is amplified in the masque thus:
a horrid scene appeared of storm and tempest. No
glimpse of the sun was seen, as if darkness,

confusion, and deformity had possessed the world
and driven light to heaven ...
Afar off was a dark wrought sea, with rolling
billows breaking against the rocks, with rain,
lightning and thunder. In the midst was a globe
of the earth, which ... falling on fire, was turned
into a Fury.

(111 - 118)

This, Salmacida Spolia's image of rebellious discord, is matched by Marvell's 'masque' of the English Revolution. The masque's 'storm and tempest' appears not only in the scene of stanza iii, but also in the 'mad tempest' of stanza vi. The identification of 'storms' and Civil War is made evident in the hendiadys of stanza viii, 'Storms and Warrs'. Equally, the masque's direction that 'No glimpse of the sun was seen, as if darkness ... had possessed the world', is echoed in stanza iii: 'No Day he saw but that which breaks' as lightning. This stanza also imitates the masque's 'rain, lightning, and thunder'. In stanza ii the 'master-wave' of war drives onto the 'Rock', recalling the 'rolling billows breaking against the rocks'. Similarly, the masque's admixture of 'sea' and 'fire' informs stanzas vi - vii: with their 'quarrelling Elements' of 'Flames and Waves' (47), 'Wave' and 'Flames' (53-4). Moreover, the masque's ^umetamorphosis of 'earth' by fire is imitated in stanza vii: where the Unfortunate Lover is 'Torn into Flames' (54). Even the poem's "unnatural birth" finds an analogue in Salmacida Spolia. There the Fury instigates the natural-political disorders:

Blow winds! and from the troubled womb of earth,
Where you receive your undiscovered birth,
Break out in wild disorders.

(128-131).

In the Fury's apostrophe the discord of the state is given 'birth', as it is in Marvell's second stanza.

In the third stanza, the 'quarrelling Elements' are - initially - 'Sea' and 'Winds'. As we have seen, the 'Sea' is the people; and the 'Winds' are their noisy disturbances. Thus Charles' subjects become a sorrow to him: 'The Sea him lent these bitter Tears', 'And from the Winds the sighs he bore, / Which through his surging Breast do roar.' Thus their passions stimulate his, 'Which through his surging Breast do roar': disturbing his own internal 'sea' of

passions. People and King are mutually provoked in Civil War. This is the victimization of Charles-Philogenes by the people he loves, whereby that love becomes 'bitter' and 'unfortunate'.

Charles' patient suffering - of the 'Winds' aroused by his people - appears also in Salmacida. There their disturbances are 'Those quarrelling winds, that deafened unto death' (356); here they are 'quarrelling' as at a 'Fun'ral'. In the masque, Charles-Philogenes is praised for his patient endurance of those 'Winds'.

If it be kingly patience to outlast
Those storms the people's giddy fury raise
Till like fantastic Winds themselves they waste,
The wisdom of that patience is thy praise.
(360-63).

Similarly, the 'Seas' that become the Lover's 'Tears'(iii) are anticipated in the masque:

Blow winds! until you raise the seas so high
That waves may hang like tears in the sun's eye,
That we, when in vast cataracts they fall,
May think he weeps at nature's funeral.
(124-127).

Here the 'waves' that become 'Tears' are associated with 'nature's funeral' at the Last Day; just as, in Marvell's stanza, the Lover weeps 'as at the Fun'ral of the World'. Both here and in the masque, the images of desolation invoke the eschaton - the ultimate desolatio.

Such an invocation is proper to the poem's image of one of the Latter-Day wars. The eschatological mood here is supported by the Petrarchan narrative of the problematic. For in the terms of that narrative the 'Sea' is an image of fortune's vicissitudes, of which the 'un-fortunate Lover' is a victim: such imagery is commonplace in the love-poems of that type⁷⁶. This Petrarchan metaphor figures, here, the equally traditional image of the sea as providence⁷⁷: that pattern which leads to the 'port' of the eschaton, and which was evoked by Spenser in his Faerie Queene⁷⁸. Related to this providential metaphor was the masques' treatment of 'Neptune', 'as a figure for the divine power existing through the waters': and thus 'the governance of divine providence'⁷⁹. The Sea, in this sense, represents the flux whereby providence achieves its ultimately fortunate issue. Thus its disorders create health, are desolations for the sake of renovation.

In this manner the "Petrarchan" meaning of the 'Sea' evokes the providential context of Civil War. This war is part of the Latter-Day desolation; so Marvell contextualizes it, as a desolation like that 'at the Fun'ral of the World'. It is eschatological providence which decrees that Charles should be 'un-fortunate': and Marvell saw it thus in the Horatian Ode also.

Hence Charles' ruin is pictured, in the third stanza, as part of the general Latter-Day desolatio. On one level, the portents of 'Thunder' and lightning here intimate the fall of a monarch - Charles' fall. Such portents are described in the Death of O.C.: 'A secret cause does sure those Signs ordain / Fore boding Princes falls' (101-102). On another level, these are signs of the End, as the eschatological allusion demonstrates. The biblical prophecies of the End describe precisely such darkening and disturbance in the heavens: 'the sun [shall] be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken' (Matt. xxiv. 29). Such portents were adopted in many descriptions of the End; Milton, in particular, suggests an End analogous to that in Marvell's poem:

there shall be signs in the sun and in the moon,
and in the stars, and upon the earth distress of
nations, and perplexity, the sea and the waves 80
roaring, men's hearts failing them for fear.

Marvell's stanza evokes this desolation of the End as the context for the national desolatio of Civil War; the Civil War being itself a constituent of the Latter Days' 'distress of nations'.

The desolations of the End were necessary elements of the providential plan, and the consequent paradox of "fortunate desolation" informs Marvell's linkage between this stanza and the next. The scene described in stanza iii as like the universal 'Fun'ral' is characterized in stanza iv as a 'Birth'. The critical problem represented by this linkage has been expressed thus: 'The Juxtaposition of funeral and birth in successive lines [provides an] ... ambiguous relationship between life and death'⁸¹. In fact, this 'ambiguous' linkage conveys several evaluations of Charles' place in history. He was indeed "born" in the shadow of the 'Fun'ral of the World', since he is a Latter-Day ruler; his reign must be

seen, from its inception, within that context. Secondly, as a Latter-Day monarch he is subject to that political 'distress of nations' which characterizes those times. His political 'Life' is conducted within the period of universal 'Death': and for this reason he is 'Th'Amphibium of Life and Death' (v). As such an amphibium, he is a typically eschatological creature. Moreover, the political desolation which overtakes both himself and his nation is part of the fortunate process which leads to the renovatio: a compound of 'Life and Death' - of 'Birth' and 'Fun'ral' - which imitates the paradox of revivifying desolation. Thus the 'Fun'ral' of stanza iii is succeeded by the 'Birth' of stanza iv, implying the revivifying movement of history. Charles is a casualty of the Latter Days; himself an 'Amphibium' inhabiting that paradoxical period. By these oxymorons Marvell implies the ultimately fortunate process which requires that Charles be 'Un-fortunate'.

In the light of this pattern of providential desolatio et renovatio, it is not surprising that the imagery of these stanzas recalls a passage in the RT: where Marvell described the providential sanction of such desolations.

So that God has hitherto, in stead of an Eternal Spring, a standing serenity, and perpetual Sunshine, subjected Mankind to the dismal influence of Comets from above, to Thunder, and Lightning, and Tempests from the middle Region, and from the lower Surface, to the raging of the Seas, and the tottering of Earth quakes, beside all other the innumerable calamities to which humane life is exposed, he has in like manner distinguish'd the Government of the World by the intermitting seasons of Discord, War, and publick Disturbance. Neither has he so order'd it only (as men endeavour to express it) by meer permission, but sometimes out of Complacency.

(RT, 231-2)

Here Marvell discusses the natural desolations that overtake 'humane life', suggesting that they possess an analogy in the political desolations of states. Just as Nature reveals God's "common providence", so political history is arbitrated by His "special providence". The same natural symbols of

desolatio appear in The Unfortunate Lover: the 'Comets' appear in stanza i, the 'Thunder, and Lightning', in stanza iii, the 'Tempests' in stanzas ii and vi, and 'the raging of the Seas' dominates most of the poem. Here, as in the RT, these natural desolations figure forth the political desolations of the 1640s.

From the rest of the passage in the RT, it is evident that Marvell is speaking of the Civil War. He defends such 'publick Disturbance' by asserting that it is necessary to the reformation of states. By means of such reforming agitations the Ship of State achieves its 'Navigation' (232). In this poem the 'Shipwreck' figures the actual ruin of that political Ship during the Civil War - its extreme and destructive desolatio : representing Marvell's royalist dismay at its outcome. But, as a chiliast, he must intimate here - as he does later in the RT - that such political desolations fall within the providential pattern, and are appropriate to the current Latter Days. Marvell's portrait of that providential context balances - although it does not eradicate - the pathos of Charles' victimization.

The poignant portrait of Charles-Philogenes as 'Unfortunate Lover' is maintained throughout these stanzas; the scene of destruction and tribulation here embodies the effects of Charles' 'Malignant Starrs'. In stanza iii Charles personifies the 'distress of the nation' in Civil War; his 'Tears' and 'Sighs' are, as I have indicated, caused by the people's tumults. Similarly Josiah, to whom Charles was so often compared, was portrayed in the Bible as the personification of Israel's sorrow: he took upon himself the sins of his nation, and the consequent wrath of the Lord.

Because thine heart was tender ... when thou heardest ...
that [the] inhabitants [of Jerusalem] should become
a desolation and a curse, and [thou] hast ... wept
before me.

[II Kings. xxii. 19]

Josiah's grief reflects the desolation of the Old Israel: Charles' grief, here, reflects the desolation of the New Israel, England. So, in Marvell's poem, the 'Sea' and 'Winds' of the people's unrest are transformed into the 'Tears' and 'Sighs' of their king: Charles, like his precursor Josiah, takes upon himself the nation's desolation. This thought, figured by the imagery of stanza iii, introduces Charles'

further sufferings in the following stanzas; culminating in his "martyrdom" in stanza vii.

The beginning of this movement to martyrdom, in stanzas iv - v, intimates also the causes of the nation's desolation: which is also the destruction of Charles himself. The political meaning of these stanzas retains the implicit comparison of Charles-Philogenes to Josiah. Before examining these stanzas in detail, it is necessary to explain the background to this comparison.

Royalist sermons which identified Charles with Josiah compared them as righteous kings suffering for the sins of their subjects. However, in his sermon to Parliament, Reformation and Desolation (1642), Stephen Marshall put forward a Puritan view: that England required 'Reformation', and that if this reformation was not effected by King and Parliament, God would purge and punish the nation by 'Desolation'. England was vitiated by a national sin: as Marshall indicates in the subtitle, his 'Sermon [is] tending to the Discovery of a People to whom God will by no meanes be reconciled'. Loyally, he insists that Charles is a righteous king who could reform the New Israel as Josiah had reformed the Old: but he is prevented by the Antichristian bishops, the source of the national sin⁸². By them England is given over to the 'spiritual fornication' of Papist idolatry. In effect, Marshall's sermon is a warning to Charles that he must repudiate the bishops; and if he is not willing to do so, Parliament must compel him. Charles will become another Josiah only by this means; and the alternative to this 'Reformation' is the 'Desolation' of Civil War..

A similar moral, made tragic by dint of hindsight, informs Marvell's stanzas (iv-v). These clarify the poem's reference to Civil War, and diagnose its causation: the Antichristianity of the bishops, and their corruption of Charles' monarchy. (In this relation, it is necessary to recall Marvell's similar diagnosis in the RT). In the light of this diagnosis it is possible to explicate the imagery of these stanzas: and especially the 'Cormorants' that appear here, the identification of which has been, hitherto, a critical problem.

First, it is necessary to understand that the 'quarrelling

Elements' (iv) are the conflicting parties of the Civil War. Marvell had used the same image for the Civil War in Hastings: who from heaven 'views the Turnaments / Of all these sublunary Elements' (35-6) in the 1640s⁸³. Within this context, 'Cormorants' appear to torture the Lover:

A num'rous fleet of Corm'rants black,
That sail'd insulting o're the Wrack,
Received into their cruel Care,
Th' unfortunate and abject Heir:
Guardians most fit to entertain
The Orphan of the Hurricane.

They fed him up with Hopes and Air,
Which soon digested to Despair.
And as one Corm'rant fed him, still
Another on his Heart did bill.
Thus while they famish him, and feast,
He both consumed, and increast:
And languished with doubtful Breath,
Th' Amphibium of Life and Death.

(iv -v)

These 'Corm'rants' are the agents of the Lover's victimization here; they figure Charles' ruin at the hands of the clergy.

The identification of these 'Corm'rants' with the bishops becomes clear when one examines Marvell's characteristic treatment of the episcopacy, and the tradition to which it is indebted. First, as we have seen, Marvell was accustomed to portray the agents of Antichrist - whether in Church or State - as devourers. In so doing he was implementing the traditional imagery which characterized all aspects of Antichrist as "devouring". Here this devouring nature is intimated by the character of 'Corm'rants', which were notoriously voracious and, moreover, were often used to describe gluttons⁸⁴: they are, therefore, "devourers". In this fashion they reflect the bishops' Antichristian character, as "devourers" of souls.

Secondly, in both his prose and his poetry Marvell characteristically portrays Antichristian subverters - especially clerics - as voracious birds. In Tom May Satan-Antichrist is symbolized in his Dantean form, as a Vulture; and in Last Instructions the "evil counsellor" Clarendon is associated with a 'Vulture's Wing'⁸⁵. In the First Anniversary, 'Owls and Ravens' signify those subversive factions which desire the death of Cromwell (333); identified, in the previous lines, as the Antichristian sects (293 ff.). Similarly, in Mr Smirke, Marvell compares his clerical opponent to 'a crane

(not to instance in a worse bird)'(72); and later elaborates an extended comparison of Turner to the malignant jackdaw (77)⁸⁶. This constant usage of evil birds, as the images of religious and political Antichristianism, informs Marvell's image of the 'Corm'rants' here. The 'Corm'rants' preside over the 'Wrack' of the Ship of State, against the 'Rock' (ii). Here they signify those Antichristian elements which delight in England's ruin: they 'sail'd insulting o're the Wrack'.

Such elements are suitably symbolized by these birds: as a divine had expressed it, evil men are 'the hugest Cormorants, whose gorges have bene long ingurgitated with the World'⁸⁷. Milton had made Satan himself a Cormorant, in a passage in which he is compared to Antichristian clerics (PL. IV. 190ff.). Here Marvell indicates that his 'Corm'rants' are clerical, by various ironic connotations. These cormorants are, of course, 'black' because of their clerical garb; and their 'cruel care' intimates the damnatory nature of their "ministry". Marvell notes, sarcastically, that they are 'fit Guardians' for the Stuart 'Heir': their spiritual guardianship is, because Antichristian, a betrayal of the souls in their keeping. Moreover, Charles is 'Th' unfortunate and abject Heir', because he submits to their domination.

This implication echoes that of the passage from the RT (quoted above), where Marvell explains that Charles' ruin was due to his domination by the bishops: he did 'the Clergyes drudgery', a fact recalled in his 'abject' character here. That passage in the RT also provides a gloss for the next stanza.

they [the bishops] having gained this Ascendent upon him, resolv'd whatever became on't to make their best of him; and having made the whole business of State their Arminian Tangles ... did for recompence assign him that imaginary absolute government, upon which Rock we all ruined.

(RT, 134)

As Marvell explains it here, Charles' relationship with the bishops was doubly foolish. On the one hand, he made over to them such power that they could make 'the whole business of State' their own province. On the other, he received in return a purely 'imaginary' absolutism: by which Marvell means that the bishops accorded him iure divino status. Charles' delusions of absolute power, fostered by the episcopal

establishment, were the cause of the Civil War. This account of the Civil War accords, - as we have seen - with Marvell's insistent thesis that princes are misled by episcopal pressure; absolutism or "false government" may always be traced to episcopal ambitions. Thus, in Marvell's view, Charles' ruin was provoked by Laud and his Arminian colleagues.

Thus, in The Unfortunate Lover, we see Charles dominated by clerical 'Cormorants', whose 'cruel care' is at once his sustenance and his bane. 'They fed him up with Hopes and Air': that is, they foster in him 'Hopes' of absolutist government. The 'Air' is the false pomp of such delusions. At another level, it is the breath of life itself, sustaining the Lover: an ironic reflection that absolutism was as the "breath of life" to Charles, sustaining him in his folly. It merely prolongs his agony:

They fed him up with Hopes and Air,
Which soon digested to Despair.
And as one Corm'rant fed him, still
Another on his Heart did bill.
Thus while they famish him, and feast,
He both consumed, and increast.

These lines imply that relationship with the bishops which Marvell described in the RT. Charles is 'feast(ed)' and 'increast' by his absolutist 'Hopes': yet 'famish(ed)' and 'consumed' because he has relinquished real power to the bishops. As the bishops-cormorants 'feed' his absolutism, so they simultaneously 'famish' him of his true dominion. As an absolutist, Charles 'both consumed, and increast': grew in delusion, but ruined his own monarchy. Here, as in the RT, the bishops-cormorants are the agents of his ruin. In this stanza Marvell shows how episcopacy drove the Ship of State onto the 'Rock' of absolutism: the cause of the 'shipwreck' that occurred in the stanza ii. The 'Birth' of Charles as Philogenes, the absolutist, delivered him to these clerical 'Guardians'.

Marvell's diagnosis, here, of the causes of Civil War was by no means unusual: as I have indicated in an earlier chapter. In 1644 a pamphleteer had suggested the same causation:

Our Jesuiticall and Satanicall instruments [the bishops] persuade the King if he will but taste the fruit of this illegal prerogative tree, he shall be an absolute monarch, while indeed he becomes a very slave to them and⁸⁸ their devilish devices.

This observer echoes Marvell's notions: in asserting absolute dominion Charles really submitted himself to episcopal domination. This irony informs Marvell's stanza; but it also portrays Charles as the victim of Antichristian episcopacy, in which the Civil War finds its true origin. In this manner Marvell, without absolving Charles of blame, ascribes the ultimate responsibility for Civil War to the bishops. Thus in this stanza, as throughout the poem, Charles is portrayed as both a pathetic victim and an active participant in his own ruin.

These stanzas - iv and v - are the central focus of the poem, occurring as they do at the half-way mark. Marvell himself emphasizes this centrality. For, as Maren-Sophie Røstvig has noted, certain significant nouns form a pattern in stanzas i-iv; which is then reversed in stanzas v-viii.⁸⁹ This circular semantic structure pivots on 'Corm'rants', thus:

i	ii	iii	iv
Love	Wave Rock	Breast Day	Corm'rants
Love	Wave Rock	breast day	Corm'rant
viii	vii	vi	v

In this manner the 'Corm'rants' become the highlighted central element of the poem. This structure reflects, in fact, the causal nature of the bishops in Charles' 'unfortunate' history. Both structurally and thematically they are the critical factor in the poem: the arbiters of Charles' fall. In this fashion Marvell accords a central place to the source of the national conflict. From this point stanzas vi-vii proceed to demonstrate the conflict of Civil War.

Before explicating those stanzas, it is necessary to show how Marvell supports his political narrative here, by means of the Petrarchan and personal narrative. On this level, the 'Hopes and Air' are the vain ambitions of the Lover: who, hoping to gain his beloved, is thus more readily vulnerable to 'Despair' when he is rejected. This Petrarchan motif is an ironic reflection of Philogenes' absolutist 'love' for his people: the aspirations of Charles-Philogenes are precisely the reason for his rejection by his "beloved" people.

Similarly, Charles is the dupe of the bishops not only in government, but also on the personal level. His 'Heart' is his Lover's heart: but in this period it could signify the "soul" also. At that level, his "soul" is in the keeping of the 'Guardian' bishops: they pretend so to guard it, but in fact 'bill' upon it. That devouring of Charles' soul intimates the damnatory motive of this Antichristian "ministry". The ambiguity of 'Heart' - at once the Petrarchan 'Heart' and the royal "soul" - allows this implication in the lines.

The true Christian ministry is here seen as reversed. For Christian redemptive ministry is symbolized by the "Pelican", which draws blood from its own heart. Signifying Christ's redemptive power, the 'Sad Pelican' was used by Marvell to counterpoint the Antichristian ministry of Fleckno: as we have seen. Here, the clerical cormorants reverse that ministry by feeding off Charles' 'Heart': theirs is an Antichristian inversion of true spiritual 'Care'.⁹⁰

Marvell's procedure and imagery in these stanzas find analogues in the masque of Salmacida. In that masque the King's careful love of his people is contrasted with 'o'erweening priests' (336). And Marvell's 'Hopes' that 'increast' echo those of Charles' people in the masque: who complain of his 'delay' in rescuing them, that 'whilst our hopes increase, our time doth waste' (329). In Marvell's poem that paradox of 'increase/waste' becomes 'consumed/ increast', and Charles himself is the victim of the paradox. So here, as throughout the poem, Marvell implements an ironic reversal of the masque's imagery: and of its absolutist assertions. It is Charles - not the 'beloved people' (301) - who requires rescue here.

The 'doubtful' struggle of 'Life and Death' within Charles-Philogenes is that between the vigour and the destruction of monarchy itself. In this respect the monarch's divided nature reflects the division in his country: just as his body had imitated - in 'Tears' and 'Sighs' - the turbulence of the body politic (iii). That traditional metaphor in which the state is a body, the king its head, informs the relationship between Charles' 'doubtful Breath' and the nation's own 'Life and Death' struggle. His psychomachia - as an 'Amphibium' - imitates at this level 'Division that taile-headed Amphisbaena',⁹¹ as a contemporary expressed

it. Throughout the poem, both Charles and his nation are suffering the effects of desolation. As Philogenes, Charles personifies the "tragedy" of Civil War.

Of this Civil War, the many antitheses and paradoxes of the poem are figurae. War is an antithetical state, and Civil War a paradoxical one. These images of conflict are elaborated in the next two stanzas, which develop from the psychomachia of stanza v: and, from the causal diagnosis given in that stanza, proceed to the effects of Civil War.

In stanza vi this characterization of Civil War founds itself upon a Petrarchan idea. The Lover is caught 'betwixt the Flames and Waves': in the Petrarchan narrative, he is caught between passion ('Flames') and the vicissitudes of Fortune.⁹²

And now, when angry Heaven wou'd
Behold a spectacle of Blood,
Fortune and he are called to play
At sharp before it all the day:
And Tyrant Love his brest does ply
With all his wing'd Artillery.
Whilst he, betwixt the Flames and Waves,
Like Ajax, the mad Tempest braves.
(vi)

The conflict takes place because 'angry Heaven' decrees the Civil War. In the same manner Marvell characterized the War in the Horatian Ode, as 'angry Heavens flame'. So, here, 'angry Heaven wou'd/ Behold a spectacle of Blood' - the War. The reason for Heaven's anger has been explained in the previous stanza: the bishops' Antichristianism was the national sin, fostering also false government. As in the Ode, Heaven's wrath is a 'flame': the 'Flames' of divine retribution combine with the 'Waves' of rebellion, to torment Charles.

Also as in the Ode, Heaven's anger calls for Charles 'to play' his tragic scene in the historical drama. Here the military metaphors ('At sharp', 'Artillery') emphasize Marvell's subject, the Civil War; and this political level of meaning is supported by the Petrarchan image, of the Lover assaulted by the "batteries" of Cupid's armoury. Here that Petrarchan motif is made literal, in its reference to Civil War.

Here, also, Heaven's anger is a retribution for Charles' clerically-inspired absolutism. The latter is represented in the 'Tyrant Love'. On the Petrarchan level, this is Cupid: who victimizes the Unfortunate Lover. On the political level,

the 'Tyrant Love' is Charles' own tyrannical conception of Philogenes, the absolutist Lover of his People. In this sense, Charles becomes the victim of his own absolutist aspirations: his 'Tyrant Love' becomes his own enemy. This political psychomachia has an ironic implication: that Charles the tyrant-lover is himself tyrannized by Love.

Perhaps this irony is intended to imply that Charles-Philogenes loved his people too much to suppress them bloodily in war: that, in a sense, he allowed himself to be defeated. This pathetic notion would have accorded well with the popular hagiographical image of Charles as martyr. By such an implication the stanza maintains the poem's ambivalent attitude: Charles is here both the mistaken absolutist, and the martial hero who 'braves' 'the mad Tempest' of War.

In its portrait of Charles-Philogenes as warrior, the poem recalls Salmacida. That masque insists upon the 'valour' of Charles-Philogenes (322,372): eulogising the King as martial hero (esp. 732-3). In the poem he is compared especially to Ajax, son of Oileus. This has been recognized as an allusion to Virgil's Aeneid (I.45f.);⁹³ which tells of the manner in which the goddess Minerva revenged herself upon that warrior for his 'mad sin'. This reminiscence is especially appropriate to Marvell's subject in the stanza. That subject - the retribution of Heaven for Charles' absolutist folly - is reinforced by this allusion, to a warrior punished by the gods for his madness. Moreover, the 'Flames and Waves' of Charles' punishment recall Minerva's persecution of Ajax, who was tortured by a 'flame' and tossed by 'waves': and he, like Charles, was driven upon a 'Rock'. In this manner, the Virgilian reminiscence provides one of Marvell's cherished Roman Parallels for the Civil War.

This stanza also maintains the implicit Josian comparison. Here England is seen to be punished by Heaven's anger; in Kings Josiah explains that Israel labours under 'the wrath of the Lord' (2 Kings xxii.13), for the same reason - the national sin of idolatry. Moreover, in stanza iv Charles is seen as an 'Orphan' - like Josiah, whose father was assassinated (2 Kings xxi.20-24). In this manner the central stanzas maintain Charles' identification with Josiah, the righteous king of a corrupt Israel: an identification which seems to imply Charles' own religious innocence - recalled in the RT, where Marvell asserts that he was a 'pious' king. Thus

Marvell's central stanzas imply that the bishops are the true villains of the Civil War, and Charles is their victim. This attitude also accords with Marvell's statements in the RT.

In the next stanza, the image of Charles as victim is amplified by his characterization as a martyr: a characterization fostered by Royalist propaganda at this time.

See how he nak'd and fierce dost stand,
Cuffing the Thunder with one hand;
While with the other he does lock,
And grapple, with the stubborn Rock:
From which he with each Wave rebounds,
Torn into Flames, and ragg'd with Wounds.
And all he saies, a Lover drest
In his own Blood does relish best.
(vii)

Here, in the initial lines, Charles is seen in conflict with the 'Rock' of episcopally-determined absolutism; a development of his conflict with his own "tyrannical love" in the previous stanza. Charles as martial hero is here seen to be engaged in a vain struggle: in which, nevertheless, he is courageous and resolute. The 'waves' of the rebellion constantly pull him away from the 'Rock', symbol of absolutism: a symbolic narrative, in fact, of the rebellion's success. Charles' defeat is represented as physical wounding: 'Torn into Flames, and ragg'd with Wounds'. In this fashion the stanza culminates the poem's portrait of Charles as victim - casualty of the Latter-Day war.

It is the final couplet which transforms the victim into a martyr. 'And all he saies, a Lover drest/ In his own Blood does relish best.' Here 'saies' is a pun: Charles, the actor in history, declaims ('says') as an actor should. On another level, 'saies' is a contraction of "assays":⁹⁴ his attempts and assaults in the war. In the Petrarchan narrative those "assays" are the Lover's attempts at his desires: supporting the political meaning, in which the war was - in all respects - the crucial "assay" of Charles' reign. These words and attempts are 'best relish(ed)' by 'a Lover drest/ In his own Blood'. This is an allusion to Christ, the Bridegroom or Lover of the soul, who expressed His love by His bloody ransom of man; traditionally, he was represented as 'drest/ In his own Blood'.⁹⁵ Thus the lines suggest that only Christ - the transcendent "victim" of His own "love" - can 'best' appreciate ('relish') the sufferings of Charles as Lover.

Moreover, Christ as Judge evaluates, at the End, the actions and motives of men: it is proper that He should be Charles' Judge. The implication - that His evaluation is favourable - absolves Charles of religious guilt.

On another level, it is 'The Unfortunate Lover' himself who is 'drest/ In his own Blood': the manner in which he 'relish(es)' his own wounds indicates that this is the martyr's attitude - in which victimization becomes transcendence. This double level of meaning rests on the word 'Lover': Christ and Charles are both 'unfortunate Lovers'. Moreover, the ambiguity which embraces both Charles and his Lord is especially appropriate: since Christ was Himself a King. His Kingdom was to succeed upon these Latter Days:

Christ... is by the designation of his Father, appointed to be King of his Church: a King to rule and governe all those whom hee hath redeemed to be a people for himselfe.⁹⁶ Christ is the fifth and final King, and Charles' kingship is His precursor. This evocation of the Kingdom Age is pertinent to Marvell's Latter-Day "tragedy": human kings may fall, but such desolations merely preface the renovated Kingdom. Here the divine king 'relishes' the human king's martyrdom, which was indeed required of him by 'angry Heaven' (vi). Charles is thus seen to submit to his doomed role in the eschatological plan: as, equally, he submitted to his own tragedy in the Ode.

The seventh stanza's portrait of Charles-Martyr should be seen in the context of Royalist propaganda at this time, which urged that image with much popular success. In Royalist literature there was a constant

drawing of parallels - sometimes hinted, sometimes explicit - between Charles's fate and that of Christ... This comparison, which to us may seem blasphemous, was quite clearly in Charles's own mind... And in Eikon Basilike the parallel is often suggested... Such an identification, between a deposed and martyred King-by-divine-Grace and the divine victim himself, was not in the least a new creation, invented for the special benefit of Charles; it⁹⁷ was the natural outcome of a whole tradition.

Charles' own consciousness of the Christological parallel manifests that here, as throughout the poem, Marvell portrays his king in Charles' own terms. This procedure is at once complimentary - praising by imitation - and ironic: for nothing remains of Charles' monarchy but its self-generated images, images of its delusions. To portray Charles in his own images is at once to allow him the grace of those aspir-

ations, and to judge their insubstantiality.

That is particularly true of this stanza's implicit recollection of masque. The scene here, as elsewhere in the poem, recalls the frontispiece of Eikon Basilike: where Charles, surrounded by images of his martyrdom, is seen against the background of a turbulent sea. This hagiography was issued in the year of Charles' execution: the year when this poem was written. In its frontispiece Milton recognized both the "Popish" idolatries of martyr-cults, and their most recent source:

In one thing I must commend his openess, who gave the title to this book, [Eikon Basilike] The King's Image; and by the shrine he dresses out for him, certainly would⁹⁸ have the people come and worship him.

In this spirit he diagnoses the nature and aims of the frontispiece: it is, in effect, a distillation of the Caroline masque.

[There is] the conceited portraiture before his book, drawn out of the full measure of a masking scene, and set there to catch fools and silly gazers...

The picture set in front would martyr him and saint him to befool the people... But quaint emblems and devices, begged from the old pageantry of some twelfthnight's entertainment at Whitehall, will do but ill to make a saint⁹⁹ or martyr.

Milton recognized the drift of absolutist images in the Caroline masques: where monarchy was "sanctified" in a manner which justified the worst excesses of prerogative rule. Here he sees that the hagiography of Charles in defeat was merely the obverse of his Dei gratia kingship in the masques: the images assimilated to both are equally false, and Milton indicates this especially by his derogatory use of 'masking' as "delusion". In Marvell's poem it has a similar resonance: it is at once the measure of Charles' ruinous fallacies, and - on the "positive" side - a symbol of the historical "masque" in which Charles is a tragic actor.

Milton's attribution of masque-concepts to Eikon Basilike is particularly pertinent to Salmacida, in which Charles-Philogenes strikingly anticipates Charles-martyr. Commenting on Salmacida, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong have noted this anticipation in the proscenium-frieze:

paired as Innocence is here with Forgetfulness of Injuries, the figure [of Philogenes] takes on another meaning; for these are attributes of the suffering Christ. Jones's¹⁰⁰ imagery now looks forward to the royal martyrdom.

Thus, in Salmacida, Charles as Philogenes ("Lover of his People") figures forth Christ, the divine Lover of mankind.

That figural relationship informs Marvell's 'Lover drest/
In his own Blood', where both Charles and Christ are evoked.

This image is given an original twist by a Marvellian irony: which is based upon the conflicting personae accorded to Charles during the Civil War. To Royalists Charles' persona became that of the "Man of Sorrows":¹⁰¹ imitating that of Christ Himself. The tradition of Christ as "Man of Sorrows" has its biblical origin in Isaiah liii.3: and there the Messianic prophecy portrays Christ as the one who will assume the sins of His people, redeeming them by His sacrifice (4-5).

Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows;
yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and
afflicted.

This Christological "type", taken up by the Royalist propagandists, is recalled by Marvell in his poem. In stanza iii Charles-Philogenes is a "man of sorrows":

The Sea him lent these bitter Tears,
Which at his Eyes he alwaies bears.
And from the Winds the Sighs he bore,
Which through his surging Breast do roar.

Here, as I remarked, the logic of the imagery indicates that Charles takes upon himself the tumults of his people ('Winds, Sea'): so that they become his own internal psychomachia, 'Which through his surging Breast do roar'. The 'Seas' of rebellion become 'his surging Breast'. Thus Charles is here the Royalist "Man of Sorrows": and, like Christ in Isaiah, he takes upon himself the griefs of his people. 'Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows'. In both cases this process is motivated by love - in Christ's case, divine love that redeems: in Charles', the "love of his people" proper to Philogenes.

Moreover, in both cases that love issues in sacrifice. Christ was sacrificed in order to redeem men's sins; Charles is the victim of that national sin which evoked the wrath of 'angry Heaven'. This thought provides the narrative from stanzas iii to vii; where Charles is the "Man of Sorrows", and victim of the bishops' Antichristian machinations: then the victim of Heaven's desolatio against that Antichristianism: and finally, in stanza vii, the martyr to that sin. In this manner Marvell reveals Charles as a Latter-Day casualty: his ruin is the price of England's sins, and a function of her desolation.

This - Marvell's ratification of Charles in defeat - is underscored by this stanza's political allusion. Whereas Charles' Royalist persona was "the Man of Sorrows", to Parliamentary propagandists he was 'the Man of Blood': an agent of Antichrist who wreaked death in the nation.¹⁰² That Parliamentary tag is twisted by Marvell into the 'Lover drest/ In his own Blood': Charles is here not a man spilling others' blood, but a martyr whose own blood is spilt. By his transformation of the derogatory 'Man of Blood' Marvell enacts a revenge upon the Parliamentary cliché, and declares his own Royalist sympathy. In the seventh stanza Charles' portrait is at its most favourable.

This stronger emphasis upon Charles' nobility (as opposed to his idiocies) prepares for the last stanza. In the Final Image Charles' death is portrayed as the assumption of a martyr; this stanza provides a memorial to his tragedy, synthesizing both its ironies and its poignancy.

This is the only Banneret
 That ever Love created yet:
 Who though, by the Malignant Starrs,
 Forced to live in Storms and Warrs;
 Yet dying leaves a Perfume here,
 And Musick within every Ear:
 And he in Story only rules,
 In a Field Sable a Lover Gules.
 (viii)

In the Petrarchan narrative, this stanza suggests the "apotheosis" of the Lover. But the stanza's details - and especially the last line - have puzzled critics;¹⁰³ in fact, this is a characteristic Final Image, synthesizing the poem's narratives. It involves a complex admixture of the major elements of the poem, summarizing Charles' tragedy.

'This is the only Banneret/ That ever Love created yet': in the Petrarchan sense, this Lover has been distinguished in Love's 'Warrs', the love-war portrayed in stanza vi. 'Tyrant Love' has conferred knighthood upon him: a 'Banneret' is a knighthood created on the battlefield, and conferred by the king. This notion is an ironic reflection upon Charles: as Philogenes he receives a knighthood, which displaces the monarchy to which he is 'Heir' (iv). Defeated and executed, he is no longer a king; rather he attains the merit of a martial hero. In this sense the Civil War has "made" Charles - transformed his function. This idea carries a positive connotation, that Charles' tragic achievement is indeed an achievement of a kind - a martyrdom: but it also carries an

irony, that Charles the "tyrannous" Philogenes is himself subordinated to the favours of 'Tyrant Love'. He is both the victim and the martyr of his absolutism. This loss of monarchical function underpins the penultimate line, that 'he in Story only rules'. The martyrdom that embraces this loss is indicated by another Christological reference: for Christ was 'God's bannerite'.¹⁰⁴ This reiteration of Charles' comparison to Christ provides the sympathetic resonance in this couplet: balanced by the ironic portrait of Charles as king-turned-knight. This tension of sympathy and irony is, as we have seen, characteristic of the poem as a whole: and it is maintained throughout this final stanza.

The first couplet's allusion to a 'Banneret' recalls the historical scene which is the true context of the poem: for at Edgehill in 1642 Charles had created a banneret, the first such creation for a long time.¹⁰⁵ That contemporaneous resonance of the Civil War is amplified in the next couplet. Philogenes is 'by the Malignant Starrs,/ Forced to live in Storms and Warrs': Charles' tragedy is to be the victim and martyr of this Latter-Day ethos, of which the national effect was Civil War. The 'Malignant Starrs' shadow forth the eschatological destiny which decrees the time of desolation; but they have also a quite specific reference to the Civil War. It will be recalled that, in Hastings, Marvell vilifies the Parliamentarians as the 'Democratick Stars': who are held responsible for the hero's death. Similarly, here, the 'Malignant Starrs' are the Parliamentarians who effected the regicide.

This allusion is, therefore, suitably succeeded by Charles' death in the next line. 'Yet dying leaves a Perfume here,/ And Musick within every Ear.' This has long been recognized as a reference to Josiah the righteous king: of whom Ecclesiasticus had remarked that 'The remembrance of Josias is like... perfume... it is sweet... as musick at a banquet of wine' (xlix. 1).¹⁰⁶ In this manner Marvell concludes the Josian comparison; and this conclusion is pertinent to the foregoing portrait of Charles as martial hero. For Josiah was slain in battle, and greatly mourned (2 Kings xxiii.29). Moreover, this allusion occurs in the eighth stanza of a poem in which each stanza has eight lines: which may be a numerological reference to the fact that Josiah became king at the age of eight.¹⁰⁷ By means of this

comparison with Charles, Marvell portrays him as a righteous king: no less righteous because misled.

Charles' apotheosis in 'Perfume... And Musick' recalls the characterization of Philogenes in Salmacida: and of Charles the 'heroical Lover' in Love's Triumph. In Salmacida Charles' triumph as Philogenes is celebrated by a 'Triumph of Music' (458ff.), an image of the concord achieved by the "power" of Love. Here too Charles achieves apotheosis, attaining 'heavenly graces' (390-391); he will inevitably reach Heaven, 'Where, we are taught, the heroës are gone' (340). In Salmacida, as in Marvell's poem, Charles' heroism demands apotheosis.

Such a 'musical' effect is of course characteristic of masques. Moreover, Marvell's 'Perfume... And Musick' finds a close analogue in Love's Triumph: they may both be indebted to the Josian source in this respect. In Love's Triumph Euphemus, the spirit of true and virtuous love, prophesies the triumph of perfect love - Charles - in Callipolis:

Then will he flow forth like a rich perfume
Into your nostrils, or some sweeter sound
Of melting music.

(78-80)

The triumph of Charles, here, evokes that 'music and perfume' by which Marvell indicates Charles' apotheosis in this poem.

In Salmacida there appears also an analogue of the lines in which Marvell's Lover is 'Forced to live in Storms and Warrs'. There the Spirit of Concord repines the fate of Philogenes: that

though the best
Of kingly science harbours in his breast,
Yet 'tis his fate to rule in adverse times,
When wisdom must awhile give place to crimes.

(188-191)

The same 'fate' is bestowed upon Marvell's own Charles-Philogenes; and something of the same regret informs his lines. But if Charles is a Latter-Day martyr, 'Yet dying he leaves' music 'within every Ear': his memory is perhaps his best achievement, and makes of him a symbolic personage to 'every'-one. This thought is both ironic - Charles is greater in death than in life: and sympathetic, that this too is an achievement.

That ironic balance informs the final couplet, in which Marvell anticipates Charles' significance as an historical

personage.

And he in Story only rules,
In a Field Sable a Lover Gules.

In the penultimate line there is an ambiguity: on the one hand, the Lover is supreme 'only' in 'Story', since his actual life was 'unfortunate'. On the other, he "alone" attains this supremacy. Both of these meanings are relevant to the Petrarchan narrative. In 'Story' the ambiguity has proved more difficult: a 'Story' can be a fiction, a chronicle (history) or a picture,¹⁰⁸ and critics have tended to opt for one of these meanings.

In fact, this is a characteristic Marvellian ambiguity: all three meanings of which are crucial to the Final Image. The suggestion that the Unfortunate Lover is pre-eminent in "fiction" provides the culmination of the Petrarchan narrative in the poem. Indeed, tragic loves were always the most celebrated: and by intimating this fact, Marvell makes a parting gesture at the generic tradition that he has chosen for his poem.

The significance of 'Story' as "history" completes the eschatological and political narrative of the poem. Since Charles is now dead, he 'rules' only in the history of the past; and, deprived of his monarchical power by rebellion, he 'rules' only in the delusory history or "fiction" of masque. In a sense, he was Philogenes the absolutist only in those masques, and Marvell returns Charles to that imaginary kingdom. In this manner the meanings of "fiction" and "history" are made to interrelate. It is a judgement upon Charles that he in fiction merely - in 'Story only' - ruled as he thought fit.

That evaluative judgement is counterpointed by the ambiguity in 'only rules': supremely rules. In the masques 'story' Charles did indeed rule supreme. And in "history" too he has a unique quality. His was the only formalized regicide in English history: a fact of which the regicides were rather proud. In that sense Charles is, therefore, unique in '(hi)Story'. This fact is supported, in this stanza, by Marvell's celebration of his martyrdom; that 'leaves a Perfume here', an exemplum of Charles' acquiescence in his destiny. As an exemplum it is proper that he should take a pre-eminent place in the chronicles of history: his tragic fate is a lesson in 'Heaven's anger' and the cost of the

providential plan. On this level, the Final Image summarizes the relationship between 'Fortune and He' (vi): redirecting us to the 'Unfortunate' of the title.

That summary informs the pictorialized 'Unfortunate Lover' of the last line. Much speculation has raged over this line: is the image heraldic, a device, or a picture? It is indeed a figura, in the sense that it emblemizes his 'Story' - and it recalls the first stanza, where we are told of his 'impression upon Time'. This line manifests that 'impression' - as if on a seal: just as it summarizes his significance in history, in 'Time'. This seal-like impression is especially appropriate to the portrait of a king, who was traditionally portrayed on royal seals. Moreover, its pictorial or emblematic quality recalls the memorials of Charles I (on pendants and the like) which were cherished by many royalists. Such a recollection is appropriate to the Final Image, which is itself a summatory memorial to Charles.

The Lover is 'Gules' because, as the seventh stanza indicated, he is 'drest/ In his own Blood'. In this manner the 'Gules' of the Final Image recalls the Christological reference there, and emblemizes his martyrdom: that which caused him to 'rule' 'in Story', at every level. The 'Field Sable' is at once the dark background of the poem, and the battle-'Field' of Civil War; the colour black is a memorial of Charles' death and tragedy, which were decided in that 'Field'. In this fashion the Final Image crystallizes the narrative of the poem: containing within it Civil War and eschatological martyrdom. Charles, as both martial hero and sacrifice, is summarized in the colour 'Gules'.

This summarizing image is carefully reconciled with the Petrarchan narrative: the bloody Lover and his tragedy - 'Sable' and 'Gules' - are equally central to that narrative; and red had been paired with black before, as 'ensigns of death and ruth' in love.¹⁰⁹

As I have indicated, there is in this final stanza a recollection of the Caroline masque, and its "fictions". In the last line, the clash of two primary colours is a symbolic version of the poem's conflict of 'Flames and Waves', the warring antitheses of bright and dark; and provides a pictorial equivalent of the earlier 'masque of quarrelling

Elements'. The Final Image, by stabilizing that conflict into the stillness of picture, calls a halt to the "moving pictures" of the poem and thus gives a sense of rest and resolution. This "stilling of conflict" is especially significant as an image of the cessation of Civil War: these events have passed into 'hi-Story', like Charles himself. He, being dead, is necessarily now still.

This combination of arrest and death in the Final Image connotes the fact that, with Charles' martyrdom, the desolation also ends: his sacrifice is thus "restful" in historical terms. The arrival of peace is here symbolized by the containment of Charles within a picture - his assimilation into 'history' is also an assimilation into art. That assimilation occurs not only by means of his pictorialization, but also by his placing in 'Story', "fiction". On one level, the poem itself effects that assimilation into art.

The transformation of Charles into "art", effected here by the Final Image, imitates the transformation that is usual at the end of a masque. For at the close of a Caroline masque the real world and the world of art mix, as the courtiers themselves become masquers. In one sense, the royal and courtly personages are assimilated into the artistic form of the masque. Similarly, in Marvell's poem, Charles-Philogenes undergoes that transformation into art.

In the masques - as I have indicated - art (the "power" of the imagination) was used as an analogue of political power: to achieve an imaginative order was to create a political harmony. In Marvell's poem, Charles himself is shown to be lacking - in reality - that magical imaginative power which controlled the sea in the masques: here he is its victim. But in the Final Image, Charles-Philogenes is returned to the realm of art; the images fashioned for him in the masques have become truly relevant only in his death, when the human Charles has been extracted: and only the perfected art of the image remains. His 'Blood(iness)' becomes 'Gules', art rather than an 'Unfortunate' life. In this manner Marvell finally allows Charles his persona in masque-art: untrue to his life - at least in terms of power - it is a fitting memorial to the power of his posthumous persona. By this means Marvell strikingly anticipates the compulsive quality of Charles' image in history, as the martyr of the English Revolution.

The form of the Final Image may even have been suggested by the masque of Salmacida. There the 'Good Genius of Great Britain' is 'a young man in a carnation garment', a warrior with 'an antique sword' (164-5). This may have suggested the English Lover 'Gules', who is also a martial hero: a conversion, with hindsight, of the 'carnation' Englishman into the 'Lover drest/ In his own Blood'. Moreover, Marvell's suggestion that his is a king proper to fable and chronicle is reminiscent of Salmacida's similar conclusion: that

Who this King and Queen would well historify
Need only speak their names; those them will glorify:
Mary and Charles, Charles with his Mary namèd are,
And all the rest of loves or princes famèd are.
(204-7)

Salmacida's suggestion that Charles is pre-eminent in kingship and love anticipates the supremacy that Marvell accords to his Philogenes in the Final Image. His treatment provides an ironic twist upon Salmacida's formulation: since Salmacida relegates all other lover-princes to 'fame', whereas Marvell attributes only "fame" to Charles himself. For only Charles' fame remains after his death; and only in repute does he achieve the perfection that Salmacida claims for him. The Final Image places him in the 'Field' of art - of colours and images: and that location is timeless, redeeming Charles from the unfortunate 'Field' of his history. It is, then, appropriate that this artistic 'impression' should represent his 'impression upon Time'. Marvell has (as it were) granted his king a true dominion in art.

The so-called "heraldic" quality of the Final Image may have been suggested by memorials of Charles; which would be pertinent to the memorial character of the Final Image itself. One such Royalist relic of Charles illustrates the kind of design favoured: it is a locket in heart shape, done on hair of a funereal hue, and containing a piece of linen stained with blood - presumably, Charles' blood. The pendant carries a skull and crossbones, identifying it as a memorial, and also a portrait of the King.¹¹⁰ Many such pendants were made both before and after the regicide, and no doubt anyone with Royalist contacts would have seen at least one example. One can see how the colours of red and black would be readily associated with them, and that their designs might suggest Marvell's Final Image.

Many of these memorials conceal the King's portrait, for political reasons. Doubtless the same political discretion

informed the arcane portrait of Charles in Marvell's poem: fundamentally Royalist sympathies were not to be advertised at such a time, as Lovelace's recent history had demonstrated. Marvell's poem To Lovelace manifests his sense of the instability of the political situation, in a poem written at much the same time as The Unfortunate Lover. And the reminiscence, in this poem, of Lovelace's Lucasta (l.57) seems to connect The Unfortunate Lover with that insecure political mood; while, like To Lovelace, it compliments his fellow Royalist. That political sensitivity is more than sufficient reason for Marvell to have framed his poem in images that have puzzled critics ever since: images which, however, were readily recognizable to a courtly Royalist audience familiar with the masques.

The other major critical difficulty of this poem has been its peculiar "tone", with its mixtures of the extravagant and pathetic. In fact this tone is a symptom of Marvell's attitude to his defeated monarch; it arises from the problematic, in which Charles is seen in his own extravagant mask, at the same time as his pathetic history is recounted. That ironic admixture reflects Marvell's own recognition, both of Charles' folly and of his qualities. Such an ambivalent attitude was often the Stuarts' legacy to their adherents: 1649 was no time to be a complacent monarchist.

The problematic of this poem reveals Marvell's attitudes in defeat, in a manner similar to that in the Horatian Ode of the following year. As in that poem, Charles is both judged and celebrated. The 'tragic Actor' of the Ode is here seen in full masking-dress; and there is the same reconciliation to Charles' 'unfortunate' role in the eschatological drama. The heightened tone and the imagery of conflict in this poem manifest its proximity to the regicide: in this respect, the formalized "masque" element allows Marvell to distance the tragedy. Like certain other poems that he wrote in this period, The Unfortunate Lover shows Marvell in engagement with the current crises in history: and its problematic reveals - as so often - a poetic structure designed to formalize his reconciliation with the demands of the eschatological process.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have been concerned to demonstrate the two major propositions suggested in the Introduction: that Marvell's major theme is eschatology, and that his characteristic poetic procedure is that of the problematic. From the early lyrics to the late prose works, eschatology is his constant concern: its doctrines, its Protestant version of the past, its process of desolatio et renovatio, reveal a unity in his works which has as yet remained elusive to commentators. At all levels, whether of personal or political moment, eschatological belief organizes and expresses his current concerns; the renovatory pattern assimilating personal crises of poetic vocation, of quietist withdrawal, equally as it could mould declarations of political allegiance.

In the problematic, Marvell formulated a poetic procedure which could manifest the strategies of a chiliast for understanding and for revealing the nature of his own times. The Final Image in particular, with its imitation of the universal End, allowed a poetic pattern which could attain the complexity of the historical process itself.

To this end Marvell's eclecticism became a concentrated force: as is evidenced particularly in his use of classical models derived from Horace and Virgil. Marvell found it possible to regenerate those models in a form which was appropriate both to the Christian chiliast, and to his modern situation.

The general impression of Marvell's work has always involved its quality of "balance" or "detachment", its ambiguities and "elusiveness". That sense of balanced judgement is in fact the effect of the problematic, with its controlled ambiguities and its counterpoint. Ambiguity is a constructive - not a deconstructive - force in Marvell's poetry. And the problematic reveals not only his processes of judgement and reconciliation, but also the strong convictions that demanded those processes.

The arcane quality of his poetry is due not only to the secret structures of the problematic, but also to the fact that its accessibility is most likely to be limited to the author alone, or to a few of the initiated; his poetry has an

inward-looking stance which affects its tone. It can afford such a tone, and maintain its joco-serious effects, because it is a poetry not concerned to promulgate its intentions. The privacy of Marvell's life is equalled by the introversion of his poetic address.

Finally, in his work eschatology is demonstrated as a dynamic literary force, granting both thematic and structural opportunities to a poet conscious of its paradoxes. Marvell shows himself equal to those opportunities: as a poet peculiarly fitted for the "Latter Days" of his own time.

NOTES

All books are published in London unless otherwise specified

Introduction

1. T.S.Eliot, 'Andrew Marvell' [1921], Andrew Marvell 1621-1678: Tercentenary Tributes, ed. W.H. Bagguley (Oxford, 1922), 63-78.
2. For accounts of the confused (and sometimes quixotic) character of Marvell criticism, see John Carey, Andrew Marvell: A Critical Anthology (Harmondsworth, 1969), Introduction; Donal Smith, 'Marvell', English Poetry: Select Bibliographical Guides, ed. A.E.Dyson (London, 1971), notes 'the contradictions and confusions in Marvell criticism', 'a criticism [often] turgid, ingenious, and perverse' (104, 100); Anne E. Berthoff, The Resolved Soul: A Study of Marvell's Major Poems (Princeton, N.J., 1970), ix, finds that Marvell criticism has espoused methods which 'are, if not destructive, often faulty or irrelevant'; and for controversy between critics themselves on this topic, see Bruce King, 'In Search of Andrew Marvell', REL VIII (1967), 31-41; and Pierre Legouis, 'Marvell and the New Critics', RES, n.s., VIII.32 (1957), 382-9. For an historian's view of the matter, see J.P.Kenyon, 'Marvell and His Critics', TLS, 17 Nov. 1978, 1341-2.
3. See, for instance, Edmund Gosse, 'The Member for Hull', Tercentenary Tributes, ed. Bagguley, 91: where he notes Marvell's 'keen observation of nature and... passionate nature-worship'. Cf. Albert F. Sieveking, in a similar vein, quoted in E.S.Donno (ed.), Andrew Marvell: The Critical Heritage (London, 1978), 317. For other early trends in Marvell criticism, see Ibid, Introduction, 'The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', 9-21; Carey (ed.), Critical Anthology, Part I. Marvell's relationship to 'Nature' has remained a topic of more recent criticism - e.g. M.F.E.Rainbow, 'Marvell and Nature', DUJ, 37 (1945), 22-7; Joseph H. Summers, 'Marvell's "Nature"', Marvell: Modern Judgements, ed. Michael Wilding (London, 1969), 141-54.
4. Pierre Legouis, Andrew Marvell: Poet, Puritan, Patriot (Oxford, 1968), 34. As Donal Smith noted, Legouis' interpretations of the poems 'do little more than set the stage for closer examination' ('Marvell', 98).
5. J.B.Leishman, The Art of Marvell's Poetry (1966); Rosalie L.Colie, My Echoing Song: Marvell's Poetry of Criticism (Princeton, N.J., 1970); Maren-Sophie Røstvig, The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphosis of a Classical Ideal, 1600-1700 (Oslo, 1954), 2 vols., Vol.I; Ruth M. Wallerstein, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic (Madison, Wisconsin, 1950), the second half of which treats Marvell; Harold E.Toliver, Marvell's Ironic Vision (New Haven and London, 1965). Donal Smith, 'Marvell', 98, suggests that the Platonic approach has been overdone. Other "systematized" approaches to Marvell are represented by Bruce King, Marvell's Allegorical Poetry (New York and Cambridge, 1977), who makes somewhat indiscriminate use of

- the Bible to explicate the poems; Berthoff, who takes Marvell's major subject to be 'the Soul' in vicissitude; and R.I.V.Hodge, Foreshortened Time: Andrew Marvell and Seventeenth-Century Revolutions (Cambridge, 1978), who suggests a 'Ramist' reading of Marvell.
6. See Notes to Chapter VIII, Section i.
 7. John M. Wallace, Destiny His Choice: The Loyalty of Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1968).
 8. John Dixon Hunt, Andrew Marvell: His Life and Writings (1978); W. Hilton Kelliher, Andrew Marvell: Poet and Politician 1621-78 (1978). And cf. John Kenyon, 'Andrew Marvell: Life and Times', Andrew Marvell: Essays on the Tercentenary of His Death, ed. R.L. Brett (Oxford, 1979), 1-35.
 9. Examples of this view, of a crucial breakage - and even degeneration - in Marvell's literary abilities, are: M.C. Bradbrook and M.G. Lloyd-Thomas, Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1961), 11; Toliver, 191; Patrick Cruttwell, The Shakespearean Moment and its Place in the Poetry of the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1960), 199-200. Joseph Summers argued against this view - for, I think, the wrong reasons - in his Selected Poems of Marvell, The Laurel Poetry Series (New York, 1961), 10-11.
 10. See Chapter III. iii. and notes.
 11. This approach is particularly popular in criticism of An Horatian Ode (see Chapter VI. ii. and notes). An example of the approach in a more general relation is Balachandra Rajan, 'Andrew Marvell: The Aesthetics of Inconclusiveness', Approaches to Marvell: The York Tercentenary Lectures, ed. C.A. Patrides (1978), 155-73.
 12. Raymond A. Anselment, '"Betwixt Jest and Earnest": Ironical Reversal in Andrew Marvell's "The Rehearsal Transpros'd"', MLR 66 (1971), 282-93, remarks that 'Marvell is a demanding author' (293); King, 'In Search', 32, finds 'unexpected depths' in his poetry. Cf. Joseph Summers (ed.), Selected Poems, 7. Anselment also finds that Marvell rarely provides 'any resolution of issues' in the poetry (293).
 13. See, for instance, Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Early Seventeenth Century: 1600-1660 (Oxford, 1945), 159; Dennis Davison, The Poetry of Andrew Marvell (1964), 60.
 14. Blair Worden, 'The Evidence of Poetry', TLS, 21 July 1978, 821: commenting on the British Library exhibition for Marvell's Tercentenary.
 15. See Chapter II, below.
 16. Hill's first essay on Marvell was 'Marvell and the Good Old Cause', Mainstream, 12 (1959), 1-27; supplemented by 'Milton and Marvell', Approaches to Marvell, ed. Patrides, 1-30, an essay which I admire, although we disagree as to the degree of Marvell's radicalism.
 17. Joseph Summers, 'Some Apocalyptic Strains in Marvell's Poetry', Tercentenary Essays in Honor of Andrew Marvell, ed. Kenneth Friedenreich (Hamden, Conn., 1977), 180-203; a volume which I reviewed in Book Auction Records 75 (Summer 1977-Summer 1978). Summers' essay is ill-informed.
 18. J.A. Mazzeo, 'Cromwell as Davidic King', Reason and the Imagination, ed. J.A. Mazzeo (1962), 29-55.
 19. James F. Carens, 'Andrew Marvell's Cromwell Poems', BuR 7 (1957), 41-70: he states that 'The "latter days" was a slogan of the Fifth Monarchy Men, a Millenerian [sic] sect' (62) - a truly fatuous remark: and cf. his equally poorly informed remarks, 64. Wallace, 139, finds the poem

'unique' (viz., eccentric) in Marvell's works because of its millenarianism (which he acknowledges only reluctantly in any case).

20. See, e.g., Christopher Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England (1971): 'the Geneva translation of the Bible... was used and pored over by three generations of English Protestants before the Civil War.' (3-4).

Chapter I

1. These qualities were remarked in Milton's letter to Lord Bradshaw, recommending Marvell for the post of Assistant Latin Secretary (1652-3): which is quoted in Critical Heritage, ed. Donno, 99-100.
2. John Aubrey, Brief Lives, ed. Andrew Clark, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1898), II.54. For the circumstances of Aubrey's acquaintance with Marvell, see Kelliher, 95.
3. See Chapter III, below; and cf. Chapter IV.iii, below. For the general dangers and insecurity of life in this period, see Sir George Clark, The Later Stuarts: 1660-1714, second edition (Oxford, 1956), 92. For other self-protective occasions in Marvell's letters, see Margoliouth, II. 179, 234; and cf. Grosart, IV.242.
4. Aubrey, II.53. Cf. Anthony à Wood, who says that Marvell was 'in his conversation very modest and of few words' (quoted in Critical Heritage, ed. Donno, 54).
5. For other speculations upon the effect of the Civil War on Marvell's poetry, see Christopher Ricks, '"Its own resemblance"', Approaches to Marvell, 108-35, where he suggests that its effect is visible in Marvell's images of "reflection"; and Patrick Cruttwell's seventh chapter, 'The Civil War, and the Split in the Age', which suggests that Marvell is an example of a literary breakage which led to Augustanism.
6. Abraham Cowley, The Civil War, ed. Allan Pritchard (Toronto, 1978), II. 143-4.
7. This line is altered from that printed in Margoliouth: following an emendation suggested by R.G.Howarth, 'Marvell: An Emendation', N&Q, Aug.1953, 330.
8. Thomas Browne, Religio Medici, II.7. Cf. Richard Sibbes, Light from Heaven... in Four Treatises (1638), 255.
10. For the traditions of the 'Dialogue' genre, see Michael West, 'The Internal Dialogue of Shakespeare's Sonnet 146', SQ 25.1 (Winter, 1974), 109-23: who notes Marvell's untraditional "fairness" of treatment.
11. This is typical of Marvell's attitude to the Civil War. Cf. Chapter III. ii.ff., below.
9. Browne, Religio Medici, I.46.
12. Ibid, I.34.
13. Ibid, I.46.
14. The quotation is from T.S.Eliot, 'Andrew Marvell', 68: 'this alliance of levity and seriousness (by which the seriousness is intensified)'; but, as Donno shows, such an 'alliance' had been noted by Eliot's predecessors (Critical Heritage, 16-18). It is now one of the data of Marvell criticism.
15. See, for example, Kitty [Scoular] Datta, 'Marvell's Prose and Poetry: More Notes', MP 63 (1965-6), 319.
16. Bishop Burnet, quoted in Kelliher, 107.
17. V.A.Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (1966), 129-30, 139.

18. T.S.Eliot, Selected Essays (1951), 45; cf. 421.
19. See Grosart, III.367-8. Cf. RT, 231.
20. Eliot, Selected Essays, 45: speaking of Restoration Drama.
21. The phrase is that of Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, revised edn. (1968), 200: he gives a full account of serio ludere, 200-236. As for the critics: in a glancing reference, Warren L.Chernaik suggests that there is a 'Christian wit' in Marvell ('Marvell's Satires: The Artist as Puritan', Tercentenary Essays, ed. Friedenreich, 268-96: 239), but does not expand this remark. Leo Spitzer, 'Marvell's Nymph Complaining...: Sources versus Meaning', MLQ 19 (1958), 231-43, suggests that 'The comic spirit in hagiography is probably at the bottom of metaphysical wit', and finds 'this quasi-religious comic spirit' in Nymph. However, his concept involves the secularization of this type of wit.
22. William M.Lamont and Sybil Oldfield, Politics, Religion, and Literature in the Seventeenth Century (1975), xiv.
23. Anthony à Wood, quoted in Legouis, Andrew Marvell, 2.
24. Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, 18, 21.
25. Anthony à Wood, quoted in Donno, Critical Heritage, 54.

Chapter II

1. For a useful thumbnail definition of what a philosophical system, in relation to a writer, consists in, see Frank Kermode, Renaissance Essays (1973), 33.
2. John Napier, Napier's Narration (1641); Joseph Mede, The Key of the Revelation (1643), transl. Richard More, by order of Parliament.
3. See, for instance, Brian W.Ball, A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660 (Leiden, 1975), 33; Charles Webster, The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626-1660 (1975), 5.
4. Brightman's influential book was A Revelation of the Revelation (1615). For the extent of his influence see Ball, passim, and William M.Lamont, Godly Rule: Politics and Religion 1603-1660 (1969), 11 et passim. Mede's influence is also discussed by Ball and Lamont, and by Hill, Antichrist, 26-7; Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics (1966), observes that Mede was 'the chief authority for the apocalyptic writers of the revolutionary period' (292); E.L.Tuveson, Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress (1964), ix.
5. Tuveson, 29.
6. Shirley Jackson Case, The Christian Philosophy of History, quoted in Joseph A.Galdon, Typology and Seventeenth Century Literature (The Hague, 1975), 55.
7. Matthew Henry, Commentary: Acts to Revelation, ed. D.Winter (1975), 513. Cf. Thomas Browne, Religio, I.17.
8. Ball, 25-6.
9. Cf. Galdon, 48 et passim.
10. Interpretation of the 'sacred calendar' of Daniel is discussed in detail by Ball, 77f.; the theology of the Second Coming, in his first chapter. Cf. Richard Sibbes, The Brides Longing for her Bridegroom's Second Coming... (1638), 34, 50-51.

11. See C.H. and K.George, The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation 1570-1640 (Princeton, 1961), 382; Frances Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (Harmondsworth, 1977), 43. Cf. Thomas Browne, Religio, I.2; Thomas Temple, Christs Government in and over his People (1642), 46.
12. See Hill, Antichrist, 69; Lamont, 66-7; Ball, 136-7; this was the common view, and appears in Mede, Napier, Brightman, Mayer, and other mainstream writers, as well as in the seminal Geneva Bible.
13. See, e.g., Mede, The Key of the Revelation, II.94; Matthew Henry, Acts to Revelation, 532-3.
14. In Anglicanism: The thought and practice of the Church of England, illustrated from the religious literature of the Seventeenth Century, ed. P.E. More and F.L. Cross (1957), 69.
15. See, e.g., Hill, Antichrist, 4.
16. John Milton, A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes (1659), in Works (New York, 1931-40), 19; cf. Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (1973), 11; Peter Toon (ed.), Puritans, The Millennium and The Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600-1660 (Cambridge, 1970), 37.
17. In Ball, 17; cf. Browne, Religio, I.45.
18. Ball, 23, 107; Stephen Marshall, Reformation and Desolation... (1642), 32; Thomas Goodwin, A Brief History of the Kingdom of Christ, Extracted out of the Book of Revelation, in Works (Nichol's Series of Standard Divines: Puritan period, Edinburgh, 1861) III.209-210; John Evelyn, The History of the Three Late Infamous Impostors (1669), in Evelyn, Miscellaneous Writings (n.d.), 587.
19. Ball, 147-9; Hill, Antichrist, 115.
20. Lamont, 95.
21. See J.P.Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution (1966), 147; cf. Milton, The Reason of Church-Government, Bohn edn., II. 508; Henry Vaughan, 'White Sunday', 30-32.
22. Lamont, 23-4; the importance of Foxe is attested also by - for example - R.Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', Origins of the English Civil War, ed. Conrad Russell, ch. 5, 149-50. Of the feeling that England's role as Elect Nation carried heavy responsibilities, see also Lucy Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (1908), 6.
23. Hill, Antichrist, 99; cf. Toon, 37; M.A. Breslow, A Mirror of England: English Puritan Views of Foreign Nations, 1618-40 (Camb., Mass., 1970), 55 et passim; Thomas Temple, 27; Samuel Hartlib, A Description of the Famous Kingdom of Macaria, shewing its excellent Government (1641), 13.
24. Nathaniel Homes, Sermon before the House of Commons, quoted in Hill, Antichrist, 82. The chiliasm and the militancy, as well as the political utility, of Parliamentary preachers is studied in detail by John F. Wilson, Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism during the English Civil Wars 1640-48 (Princeton, 1969). Cf. also H.R.Trevor-Roper, 'The Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament', Essays in British History, ed. Trevor-Roper, (1965), 85-138.
25. H.R.Trevor-Roper, 'Witches and Witchcraft', Encounter (May, 1967), 15.
26. Lamont's phrase, 13. Cf. Ball, 1-3.
27. Hill, Antichrist, 2.
28. See esp. Lamont, 19.

29. Howard Shaw, The Levellers (1968), 8.
30. See Lamont, 30.
31. See, e.g., Shaw, 8.
32. See Lamont, 33-4, 22-3.
33. Ibid, ch.3.
34. See Godfrey Davies, The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660 (Oxford, 1959), 79; Clifton, 156, 148.
35. See, e.g., Mercurius Britannicus, no.89 (30 June-7 July 1645), xxxx-xxxx verso; George Whiting, Milton's Literary Milieu (New York, 1964), 330. Cf. Halifax, 'The Character of a Trimmer', Complete Works, ed. J.P. Kenyon (Harmondsworth, 1969), 78.
36. Davies, 108; cf. 128. Cf. Clifton, 161-2.
37. See Hill, Antichrist, 157.
38. See, e.g., Marshall, Reformation, 33ff., 44-5; this is, in fact, the theme of his sermon as a whole. Marshall was an influential Parliamentarian preacher. Cf. Temple, 32-3; Clifton, 150; Ball, 98; Lamont, 94.
39. Stephen Marshall, An Answer to a Booke Entituled An Humble Remonstrance (1641), 78-9, quoted in Whiting, 224.
40. Marshall, Reformation, 42-3; cf. Walzer, 178-9.
41. E.g., Marshall, Reformation, 51.
42. Walzer, 179.
43. See Lamont, 25, for an account of the process whereby eschatology became a revolutionary doctrine despite its conservative proponents.
44. Cf. ibid, 129f.
45. Hill, Antichrist, 44; cf. 100-107, 128-31.
46. Ibid, ch. 3. Cf. Clifton, 144; Whiting, ch. 6, 'Belial and Satan', which surveys such characterizations of Charles and his supporters: esp. 234-8; and Lamont, 95, 118.
47. Lamont, 97.
48. From A.S.P. Woodhouse (ed.), Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates (1647-9) from the Clarke Manuscripts with supplementary documents (1938), 474-7.
49. Hill, Antichrist, 79-80.
50. R. Hayter, A Meaning to the Revelation (1676), epistle dedicatory.
51. Abraham Cowley, Civil War, I.317-20, 543-6; III.165-70.
52. Samuel Fairclough, A Fast Sermon preached before the House of Commons (1641), repr. in John Chandos (ed.), In God's Name: Examples of Preaching in England, 1534-1662 (1971), 373-4.
53. The Sermon of Pseudo-Cromwell, ibid, 461.
54. Lamont, 97.
55. Godfrey Davies, 156; Woodhouse, passim.
56. Shaw, 25.
57. See Christopher Hill, God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution (Harmondsworth, 1972), 209; and ch. 9, 'Providence and Oliver Cromwell'.
58. See Lamont, 137.
59. Ibid, 20; Davies, 32; Thomas Beard, The Theatre of God's Judgements, third edn. (1631), 12.
60. Davies, 33n.
61. Lamont, 19; Hill, Antichrist, 122-3.
62. Lamont, 139-40.
63. Shaw, 7; cf. P.W. Thomas, 'Two Cultures? Court and Country under Charles I', Origins, ed. Russell, ch. 6, 169.
64. See, e.g., Sibbes, Bride, sig. A5, 34; John Pell's statement of men's 'great propensions to harken to those that proclaim times of refreshing - a golden age - at

hand' (quoted in Hill, Antichrist, 103-4; Hill considers this a definitive statement of the optimism of the period.) Cf. Chapter VII, I-3, below.

65. Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (1957), II5.
66. See, for instance, Shaw, 3; Hill, God's Englishman, ch. 9, section I.
67. Shaw, 4-5.
68. Hill, God's Englishman, 215.
69. Ibid, 219.
70. Hill, Antichrist, 127; cf. Walzer, 290.
71. Ball, 16.

Chapter III

- I. See, for instance, the very title of Legouis' biography: 'Poet, Puritan, Patriot'.
2. See the account of such Lectureships provided by Claire Cross, 'The State and Development of Protestantism in English Towns, 1520-1603' (to be published in a forthcoming volume of Studies in Church History): pp. 17, 20 discuss that established in Hull. Holy Trinity was the chief parish in Hull.
3. Ibid, 9-10 et passim; the characteristics of Hull were 'religious fervour' and a 'concern to implement Protestant preaching' (21).
4. Dixon Hunt, 20.
5. Legouis, Andrew Marvell, 4.
6. Davies, Early Stuarts, 355-6.
7. For an example of Marvell's expertise, see e.g. RT, 235-6. His familiarity with the Bible was noted also by M.F.E. Rainbow, 'Marvell and Nature', DUJ, 37 (1945), 22-27: 23.
8. Letters, 346. The work that elicited this interest was Smirke.
9. Cross, 6.
10. See Josephine Waters-Bennett, The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene" (New York, 1960), III.
11. Webster, 32; Toon, 56. John Stoughton, another influential expositor of Revelation, was at Emmanuel (Webster, 35).
12. For the friendship between Marvell and Milton, see Chapter VII. v, below; for Milton's chiliasm, see Chapter V.ii, below.
13. The colleges particularly distinguished for Puritan learning were Christ's, St. John's, and Emmanuel (Webster, 37). Toon, 23, remarks the 'tremendous importance' of Cambridge as one of the Protestant Universities that fostered Hebrew studies.
14. RT, 89; a similar occasion arises in Smirke, 87-8.
15. For Marvell's absence in Europe during the 1640s, see Dixon Hunt, chapter 4; who also speculates on Marvell's 'first-hand experiences of religion in different societies' (32). The chronology of his travels is treated by P.H. Burdon, 'Andrew Marvell and Richard Flecknoe in Rome', N&Q 19 (Jan. 1972), 16-18. Hunt, 32, also mentions Marvell's 'brief flirtation with Catholicism at Cambridge' (cf. Kelliher, 25); which, in my view, added fuel to his later fears of Jesuit activity in England, since he himself had been their victim at one point. I shall be treating this topic more fully in an article.
16. General Councils, 142; cf. Smirke, 48-9.
17. See, e.g., Smirke, 69; General Councils, 97. Compare Milton's similarly insistent scripturalism in De Doctrina Christiana, Bohn edn., IV.xxx. 439, 445; Of True Religion, Bohn edn., II. 516.
18. RT, II5-6; cf. Smirke, 73. Cf. Milton, De Doctrina, Bohn edn., IV.xxx. 444.
19. Smirke, 69ff, 73 et passim.
20. 'A Letter from Amsterdam to a Friend in England' (1678), repr. in Somers' Tracts, ed. Walter Scott, VIII. 88: quoted in Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, 8n. One of Marvell's friends put it more appreciatively: he 'th'approach of Rome did first

- deplore' (Anon., 'On His Excellent Friend Mr. Andrew Marvell' (1678), quoted in Kelliher, 120).
21. E.g., Letters, 332: 'I am glad that [the Roman Catholic] Clergy begin to show their good affection to King-killing...' Cf. Chapter IV.ii, below.
 22. Aubrey, Brief Lives, 54. Cf. Kelliher, 119-20, who notes another reference to this rumour.
 23. See the detailed discussion of this work in Chapter IV.ii, below.
 24. Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', 156; Woodhouse, 43. And cf. Chapter IV Note 14, below.
 25. Grosart, Works, III.464.
 26. As Ball notes, this belief in Latter-Day 'false prophets' inspired the seventeenth-century disputes concerning the efficacy of the clergy and their spiritual integrity (104-5). A history of these 'false prophets' is provided by Milton in the visionary Paradise Lost XII.507-540, which records the subversion of the Church by self-seeking, Antichristian clergy; the passage is an analogue for Marvell's own views as expounded in this section of the thesis.
 27. These characteristics are recorded in the art depicting the Four Last Things: reproductions of which will be found in the works listed under 'Art' in the Bibliography. Literary treatment emphasized the same features. See e.g. Baillie, quoted in Whiting, 234; Bernard Gilpin, 'Antichrists of the Reformation', repr. in Chandos, 30, 38; John Evelyn, The History of Religion: A rational account of the true religion, 2 vols., ed. R.M.Evanson (London, 1850), I.161; all which are indebted to the eschatological text, 1 Peter v.8: 'the devil as a roaring lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour'. The 'devouring' motif was linked to the Beasts and Dragon of Revelation and Daniel, producing such literary images as those treated in Chapter V.ii., below.
 28. 'What the grim wolf with privy paw/ Daily devours apace' (128-9); cf. also PL XI.508, where the Antichristian clergy are 'Wolves... grievous wolves'. Lycidas as a whole has eschatological significance: for which see the studies cited in Chapter V.ii., below, and the Notes thereto. Spenser uses the same image of wolves in Shepherd's Calendar, 'May' (37-54) and 'July' (53-6). The notion that false priests were 'devouring wolves' was indebted to Matthew vii.15.
 29. General Councils, 141.
 30. For a brief exposition of the doctrine of progressive revelation, see Woodhouse, 45-6. Marvell expresses it in Smirke, 50. A fuller treatment of the issues involved is given in Chapter VII.i., below. For God's provision of 'Signs' superadded to His revelation, see Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning, ed. G.W.Kitchin (London, 1915), 80-81.
 31. Cf. Smirke, 60; General Councils, 116, 129.
 32. Cf. Chapter VII.i, below.
 33. Areopagitica, Bohn edn., II. 89-90. The divine Collier, in a sermon reprinted in Woodhouse, similarly asserts that schism will remain a fact of life until the Second Coming (392).
 34. For an account of the political and social vested interests which - mingled with religious convictions - motivated the conservative Church settlement, see R.A.Beddard, 'The Restoration Church', The Restored Monarchy 1660-1688, ed. J.R.Jones (London, 1979), 155-75. Cf. Sir George Clark, The Later Stuarts: 1660-1714, 2nd. edn. (Oxford, 1956), 18-19. For the penalties imposed on Nonconformists, which effectively increased the power of the Anglican Church, see ibid, 21-4.
 35. See, e.g., Smirke, 75-6; General Councils, 92-3, 96, 126-7, et passim.

36. For information about Francis Turner, see Edward Miller, Portrait of a College: A History of the College of Saint John the Evangelist, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1961), 43-4. The circumstances of the controversy are related by Dixon Hunt, 180, and Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, 118. The character of 'Mr. Smirke' is drawn from Etherege's play, The Man of Mode.
37. See Clark, Later Stuarts, 92.
38. See Hunt, 183.
39. cf. RT, 44: 'the Animosities and Obstinacy of some of the Clergy have in all Ages been the greatest Obstacle to the Clemency, Prudence and good Intentions of Princes, and the establishment of their Affairs.'
40. Quoted by Marvell in Smirke, 14; Marvell himself says the same thing, 22-3.
41. Cf. e.g. Milton, De Doctrina, Bohn edn., IV.xxx. 449: 'with regard to the visible church, which is also proposed as a criterion of faith, it is evident that, since the ascension of Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth has not uniformly been the church, but the hearts of believers, which are properly the "house and church of the living God", I Tim. iii. 15.'
42. E.g. he noted in GP, 303-4 the high Anglicans' use of the Civil War as a bogey. For other assertions of the anticlerical explanation of the Civil War, cf. RT, 115; GP, 384-5. Cf. also Section iii of this Chapter. Marvell specifically rebukes Parker in particular for the latter's use of the Civil War as an example to justify repression (RT, 108).
43. Despite Marvell's self-protective care on this point, his opponents were still quick to recognize him as a 'fanatic' or Nonconformist: see, for instance, Richard Leigh's accusation that Marvell is a dangerous 'Zealot' (quoted in Donno, Critical Heritage, 31); cf. also Chapter V.i, below. Marvell attempted to play down this reaction - see e.g. his assertion that self-interest is not his motive in defending the Nonconformists (RT, 186).
44. See Ball, 102, 130ff.; Hutchinson, 6; Thomas Goodwin, A Brief History of the Kingdom of Christ, 209, commenting on Rev. xiv. Cf. Fanshawe's Ode on Charles' edict directing gentlemen to their country estates, 1631, in which the Turks represent an Antichristian threat in Europe: Turkey was considered a major Antichristian menace because of her current incursions into Europe (Ball, 102).
45. Cf. Smirke, 84.
46. See especially the gloss in the Geneva Bible (1560) on Rev. ix. 7ff. The idea that the decline of the church dated from the time of Constantine himself was confirmed by Brightman (see Lamont, 50-51). Cf. also Thomas Goodwin, A Brief History, where he traces the history of Christianity as given in Revelation: in a manner similar both to the Geneva Bible and to Marvell's General Councils. Ball, 61, ranks Goodwin with Mede as one of the more influential expositors of Revelation.
47. Cf. Chapter VIII.i, below, and the Notes thereto.
48. Cf. e.g. General Councils, 145.
49. Preface to Eikonoklastes, Bohn edn., I.313. Cf. Hutchinson, 6, alluding to the Antichristian 'bondage'.
50. A valiant attempt was made by Bishop Henson, in Bagguiley, 37-48, who finds Marvell to be 'Puritan' and rightly stresses his moderation(47); however, he does not locate Marvell's specific religious classification. John Kenyon, 'Life and Times', concludes that 'We know nothing

- of his religious stance in the 1650s' (I6). In general, critics' remarks on Marvell's religion tend to manifest a regrettable ignorance of the niceties of religious affiliations at this period.
51. See the succinct account of these distinctions in Woodhouse, I6-I7.
 52. Ibid.
 53. Ibid; cf. Clark, I9.
 54. Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas note that Owen was one of Marvell's friends, I5, 9I, 95, I18. In RT Marvell was partly concerned to defend Owen's Truth and Innocence Vindicated, which Parker had attacked.
 55. For an account both of Owen's views and his influence, see Toon, 37. Owen delivered Sermons to Parliament between I646 and I652, a crucial period for political developments.
 56. For the close relationship, in religious affairs and their political ramifications, between Owen and Cromwell, see Hill, Antichrist, I05; God's Englishman, I75, I89. In the latter, I80, Hill notes that the loosely organized church under the Protectorate was of the type advocated by Owen.
 57. See Howard Schulz, 'Christ and Antichrist in Paradise Regained', PMLA lxvii, 790-808, 795.
 58. Dennis Davison, 'Marvell and Politics', N&Q n.s. II. 5 (I955), 20I-2, provides a succinct summary of critics' attitudes to Marvell's allegiance. Donal Smith, 'The Political Beliefs of Andrew Marvell', UTQ 36 (I966-7), 55-67, takes Marvell to be a 'Trimmer' on the Halifax model; a view developed and linked to 'Loyalism' by Wallace's full-length study in Destiny His Choice. In so far as Wallace stresses Marvell's constitutionalism, he is accurate and helpful.
 59. See Kelliher, 29: although we fundamentally disagree about Marvell's political views, since Kelliher believes that Marvell was a republican or Cromwellian throughout the I640s and 50s. (His thesis leads him to the canard so often found in such 'republican' accounts of Marvell: the unjustified contention that Tom May is apocryphal.) Wallace, 202, ratifies the evidenced and more popular view ('Everyone has inferred his loyalty to the Crown until I649.') I take it to last longer than that, as Chapters VI-VIII, below, evidence.
 60. Villiers is printed in both Margoliouth and Donno editions; Donno prints it as part of the canon, Margoliouth as an appendix. In Margoliouth, 435, E.E.Duncan-Jones mentions points in favour of Marvell's authorship. Wallace, 30n., accepts it as authentic; Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas rightly note that 'It has Marvell's tone and accent' (32n.). Biographical information on its authenticity is provided by P.H.Burdon, 'Andrew Marvell and Richard Flecknoe in Rome', N&Q XIX (Jan. I972), I6-I8, I8.
 61. See Notes to Chapter VI.iii, below, with reference to May's authenticity.
 62. Kelliher, 60; Margoliouth, I. 32I.
 63. Godfrey Davies, I38-9.
 64. Ibid, I47f.
 65. Lamont and Oldfield, x.
 66. Godfrey Davies, I26.
 67. Lamont and Oldfield, xx, x.
 68. See esp. RT, 238-9.
 69. See the detailed treatment of this topic in Chapter II.ii, above.
 70. For a more detailed account of this occasion, the notions

that inspired it, and the poems involved, see Chapter VII.vi, below.

71. Apart from Ingelo, these are In Effigiem Oliveri Cromwell and In Eandem Reginae Sueciae Transmissam.
72. McQueen and Rockwell, in their edition of Marvell's Latin poems, 63, also see the allusion here to John x.I2, but do not recognize the allusion to the Scarlet Whore, or the importance of her rapaciousness for Marvell's use of the 'Wolf'.
73. See Kelliher, 31.
74. Cf. also the discussion of GP in Chapter IV.ii, below.
75. Cf. RT, 239.
76. And see RT, II6 for another example of this idea.
77. Cf. Smirke, I4, 22-3.
78. Thomas Goodwin, Brief History, 207.
79. See Ball, I8I.
80. The major texts for this position were Acts i.7 and Matthew xxiv.36: 'But of that day and hour knoweth no man... but my Father only', and 'It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power'. Like Marvell, Milton uses this unrevealed "timing" of the Last Day to rebuke those impatient for the Last Day: thus in PR Christ, answering Satan's temptation that He should create the Kingdom at once, avers:
 All things are best fulfilled in their due time...
 If of my reign prophetic writ hath told
 That it shall never end, so when begin
 The Father in his purpose hath decreed,
 He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
 (PR III.I82-7)
- Here Christ is echoing Acts i.7, as a caveat against 'impatience' for the Coming. (Cf. Fixler's thesis on PR as a counterblast to this zeal, as described in Chapter V.ii, below.) For the importance of such texts in the eyes of chiliasts, see Toon, 53. Owen repudiated all attempts to fix the date of the Last Day (Toon, 38), as did the Westminster Assembly of Divines of 1643-8 (Toon, II3). So did Wilkins, 84 (citing Acts i.7); Marshall, Reformation, 28; Temple, 50; Thomas Goodwin, An Exposition, xxvii-viii; Halifax, 66. 2 Peter iii.3-9 - a salient eschatological text, enjoins 'patience' for the Last Day.
81. Cf. Ball, I8I: 'All were agreed that the work was of God and that He would order it in His own good time.' To this view the Fifth Monarchists were the major exception. Sibbes, Brides Longing, explains that patience is necessary because the number of the Elect must be fulfilled before Christ can establish the Kingdom (46-7). That diligence and patience must be combined is emphasized by Wilkins, 66. A close analogue to Marvell's attitude here in the RT can be found in the statements of Goffe in the Putney debates, on this topic (Woodhouse, I35). And for very detailed treatment of the topic, see Chapter VIII.i, below.
82. Cf. Chapter VIII.i, below.
83. Kenyon, 'Life and Times', discusses Marvell's indigence (7-8, 27-8).
84. Henry Ireton, speaking in the Putney Debates, repr. in Woodhouse, I45-6. The relevant biblical text is John xviii.36: 'My kingdom is not of this world'.
85. Dr. Parker, animadverting on the rights of Charles I, during the Putney Debates: repr. in Woodhouse, I45.
86. William Prynne, quoted in Lamont, I8I.

87. For an account of the circumstances of its publication, see Kelliher, 60-61. The most interesting critical discussions of the poem are those of Wallace, ch.3, who sees it as 'a deliberative oration' (137); and Mazzeo, 'Cromwell as Davidic King'. Cf. Notes 18 and 19 to the Introduction, supra.
88. See, e.g., Wallace, 109.
89. Sibbes, Light, 253.
90. Areopagitica, Bohn edn., II.92-3. Behind this passage - and Marvell's also - is the idea that God Himself is an 'Architect' (see e.g. PL VIII.72).
91. Areopagitica, 90.
92. Temple, 30 (speaking to Parliament itself in 1642).
93. For the importance of 2 Peter as a chiliast text, see e.g. Evelyn, History of Religion, I.162-3; and compare the various uses of this text as noted in Chapters VII.1 and VIII.1 of this thesis.
94. A Poem Upon the Death of Oliver Cromwell, 142. For the typical interpretation of Revelation's 'day', see Chapter VII.1, below.
95. Here, in the First Anniversary, Marvell echoes the similarly orthodox utterance of Wilkins in 1649: 'Let no man presume to censure the several vicissitudes and changes of things... Remember we are but short-sighted, and cannot discern the various references, and dependancies, amongst the great affairs in the world... we do in this world... see onely the dark side of Providence.' (72).
96. Cf. Chapter VII.ii, iii, and Chapter IX.ii, below.
97. Cf. e.g. Hutchinson, 6: 'The Sun of truth [is] exalted in his progress, and hastening towards a meridian glory'.
98. Temple, op.cit., is basing his sermon on this text.
99. Temple, 34-5.
100. Apart from the general identification of agents of Antichrist with devourers like wolves and lions (for which see supra, notes 27-8), one may compare a very similar thought to Marvell's in Thomas Adams, The Blacke Devill... The Wolfe worrying the Lambes and The Spirituall Navigator Bound for the Holy Land (1615), Spirituall Navigator, 15: where the 'Sea of Rome' (Antichristianism) is said to 'deuoure' souls, like 'the World, [which] as the Sea, is a swallowing Gulfe'.
101. Cf. notes 80-81, supra.
102. See Appendix I, below.
103. See Chapters VII.1, VIII.1, below for detailed discussion of these beliefs.
104. Cf. Daniel vii.13-14: 'I saw in the night visions... one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven... And there was given him dominion'; and Rev. i.7: 'Behold, he cometh with clouds'.
105. Cf. Milton, PL. XII.45-6, where Michael prophesies that Christ until the Coming is 'Lost in the Clouds from Heav'n to be revealed/ In glory of the Father.' And cf. also Milton's De Doctrina, Bohn edn., IV.485: where he quotes Daniel vii.13-14, and comments that this Kingdom is 'given [Christ]... from the time when he came with the clouds of heaven (in which manner his final advent is uniformly described).' Cf. Mede, II.102; the gloss on Rev. i.7 in Geneva Bible (1599); the use of the motif in the very title of the Fast Sermon to Parliament by Peter Sterry, The Clouds in Which Christ Comes (1647). Cf. also the examples cited by Ball, 34-5.
106. See 2 Peter iii.10-12
107. For the theology of the Fifth Monarchists, see Ball, 181ff.; Toon, 66ff.

- I08. See Lamont and Oldfield, 8.
- I09. Mede, I.99. Cf. Richard Bernard, A Key of Knowledge... of St. John's mysticall Revelation (I6I7), I77, who regards them as Catholic clerical heretics; as does the Geneva Bible (I560) in its gloss on Rev. ix.7ff. Cf. Toon, 58-9. Thus the Locusts were usually regarded as heretics, and in Mede's case as Muslims in particular.
- II0. This is the contention of the Geneva Bible (I560) on the Locusts: they are, as always, 'false prophetes'.
- III. 'Munser's rest' is a reference to the Anabaptists of Münster. See Margoliouth, I.327.
- II2. For this governmental anxiety, see Toon, 82.
- II3. Wallace, 89, I85-6. Margoliouth considers that Marvell was 'a royalist in the first place', and cites Lovelace and Villiers on this point (303); he sees Marvell as essentially a constitutional monarchist. Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas suggest that he was 'Trimmer' in a sense close to Wallace's constitutionalist/'Loyalist' picture of Marvell(2). For the 'republican' view of Marvell, see e.g. Annabel Patterson, Marvell and The Civic Crown.
- II4. Cf. the analogous account of constitutional monarchy given by Hutchinson, 4: her husband was a Parliamentarian of note, as also of some moderation.
- II5. Cf. Chapter VI.iii, below.
- II6. 'the Puritans' Royalism before I64I was Messianic', Lamont, 94. Cf. Chapter II.ii, supra.
- II7. See, for instance, the account of Fairfax's retreat from the regicide given in C.V.Wedgwood, The Trial of Charles I (I967): esp. 35-6, 80-83, I0I-4, I20-2, 2II-I3.
- II8. 'On the Fatal day, Jan:30 I648': 'Oh lett that Day from time be blotted quitt/ And let beliefe of't in next Age be waued....' (Bodleian MS. Fairfax 40, 600).
- II9. An Elegy Upon the Death of My Lord Francis Villiers (I648) I3-I6.
- I20. RT, 203.
- I2I. Villiers, I4.
- I22. See, for instance, An Honest Discourse Between Three Neighbours... (I655), 4-5, I5, and esp. I3. (Cf. the discussion of this tract in Appendix II.) Cf. also Hill, God's Englishman, I7I.
- I23. Ibid, I7I-3.
- I24. Wallace thinks that the First Anniversary is 'an argument that Cromwell should accept the... crown' (I08; III-2). However, Kelliher would argue that here the poet 'stops short..of kingship... if only for the time being' (6I), in accordance with his 'republican' approach to Marvell.
- I25. See Marvell's letter to George Downing, II Feb. I658, Letters, 307-8.
- I26. Lovelace, 2I-4.

Appendix I

- I. Cf. Howe, I67-8, where Marvell diagnoses the sins of presumption and curiosity, that have led clerics into damaging religious error. In the same tract he expatiates upon the nature and evils of 'curiosity' (I78-9). Similarly, he complains of the presumption of Parker, and compares it to 'the presumption either of Gondibert [Davenant] or Leviathan [Hobbes]' (RT, 47). Considering the perennial presumption of the bishops, he parallels their activities to the construction of Babel, a traditional image of hubris (cf. also Appleton House,

- 2I-4). As in this poem to Milton, related to this horror of presumption is Marvell's concern for "decorum" in the discussion of religious topics. Thus he opposes the 'profaning and violating those things which are and ought to be most sacred' (RT, I45); cf. also his remarks on a contemporary poem in a letter to Lord Wharton (I677), Letters, 310.
2. The poem was appended to the second edition of PL (I674). It has not received much attention from critics. Joseph Wittreich, 'Perplexing the Explanation: Marvell's "On Mr. Milton's..."', Approaches to Marvell, ed. Patrides, sees it as a defence of both Milton and Marvell against charges that they were revolutionaries. Henry F. Lippincott, 'Marvell's "On Paradise Lost"', ELN (June, 1972), 265-72, argues that the poem was occasioned by Parker's attack on Milton during the RT controversy. His account of the last paragraph of the poem is useful.
 3. Milton's apprehensions about presumption in his epic undertaking are discussed by Francis C. Blessington, Paradise Lost and the Classical Epic (1979), 96-7.
 4. For a description of the peculiar characteristics of the fabled 'Bird of Paradise', see Margoliouth's note, I.337.
 5. See 2 Peter i.21.
 6. Cf. the detailed discussion of this topic in Chapter VII. iv, below.

Chapter IV

- I. The poem was written probably during or after I645-6: Margoliouth, I.293; cf. Burdon, I7, who dates it to March I646, discussing the background to the meeting in detail.
2. See, for instance, Legouis, Andrew Marvell, I2: 'the incidents [of the poem] create the impression of a rather conceited young man who complacently repeats his own bons mots and boasts of his heavier purse': a typically literal interpretation on his part. E.E. Duncan-Jones discusses the poem in the course of 'Marvell: A Great Master of Words', Proceedings of the British Academy, LXI (1975), 267-90: she suggests that the first paragraph 'might have served as an embodiment of the decay of Popery' (276), but her brief remarks are in fact devoted to an insistence upon Marvell's 'politeness' in verse. (Actually the poem is highly insulting.) She mistakes the second paragraph for a skit on Catholic hagiography (276).
3. Genesis, xiv.18, Hebrews vii.1ff.
4. The biblical text for the Pelican symbol is Psalm cii.6. For its significance as the redemptive blood of Christ, see e.g. Thomas Browne, Pseudodoxia Epidemica, 2 vols., ed. Simon Wilkins (London, 1894), II.2-4.
5. Margoliouth also recognized this papist implication in the lines, I.304.
6. Cf. Margoliouth, I.293.
7. Margoliouth recognized this analogue (I.293), but does not comment upon it.
8. Cf. the studies of Milton's ideas cited in Chapter V.ii, below.
9. See General Councils, I25-6.
10. Viz., the Antichristian 'slavery'; cf. Chapter III.ii, supra.
- II. Frank Kermode, Selected Poetry of Andrew Marvell (New York and London, 1967), I45n.
- I2. As in, for instance, Robert Henryson's Testament of Cresseid.

- I3. See, for example, Milton, Of True Religion..., Bohn edn., II.509: 'their great and happy deliverance from popish thraldom'.
- I4. Ibid, II.513.
- I5. Clark, 78-80, 92; this was a fear maintained since the apprehensions of Papist conspiracies in the 1640s-50s (Clifton, 150-153). Marvell himself gives instances of Parliament's fear of Popery - in relation to James's marriage to a Popish princess, GP, 295-7.
- I6. For fears of Popish incendiarism as the cause of the Fire, see Clark, 66. For Marvell's participation on the committee, see his Letters, 42-3, of 1666, and the note thereon (362).
- I7. Wallace, 213, for instance, thinks that Marvell is critical of such displays.
- I8. See Kelliher, 90.
- I9. Of True Religion, Bohn edn., II.509.
20. 'A Dedication of the Legacy of... Herbert Lord Bishop of Hereford, to his Diocess. Licensed January 1678. Published 1679.' (repr. as an appendix to Smirke, Grosart, IV.I60ff.)
21. Clark, 75, 19-20.
22. Clark, 75-6 discusses the nature of the Treaty; its common dissemination, 79.
23. Clifton, 156; Woodhouse, 43. Cf. Chapter III.iii, supra.
24. Of True Religion, 513-4.
25. Ibid, 514.
26. Cf. Ibid, 414-5, where Milton makes the same complaints.
27. Ibid, 513-4.
28. Ibid, 513.
29. Ibid, 513: Popery 'thrones and unthrones kings, and absolves the people from their obedience to them'.
30. Ibid, 514.
31. Ibid, 513-4.
32. See, e.g., Breslow, A Mirror of England, 48.
33. Vide, for instance, Marvell's letter, quoted supra; cf. Milton's 'On the Fifth of November' and Phineas Fletcher's Locustae (1627), both anticatholic effusions on the topic.
34. There was a recent example of this chicanery, when Clement X died in 1676 and was succeeded by Louis' approved candidate, Innocent XI. For an account of the election, see Georgina Masson, Queen Christina (1974), 362-3.
35. Revelation xiv.9.
36. Cf. Kelliher, 80.
37. Grosart, II.xxxi, cit. in Hunt, 181. Marvell's attitudes to these two Bills are also expressed in his letters to the Hull Corporation as they were processed through the House, nos. 227-9 (194-5). In general, for the Parliamentary business discussed in GP, cf. Letters 209-294 of 1676-8 (177-245); 217 (185) is a particularly urgent example of the situation that he describes in GP.
38. Marvell makes a similar use of ambiguity to express his disapprobation of the Catholic heir to the throne, James: 'there being in all history perhaps no record of any Prince that ever changed his religion in his circumstances' (262-3). (Note that Kelliher, 85-6, makes the mistaken assumption that Marvell would have favoured James.) Similar ambiguous formulations - which nevertheless reveal his antipathy - also characterize his letters on the two Bills mentioned above (see, e.g., 194-5).
39. This was Joshua Sprigge, who during the Putney Debates of the Army opined that 'It is God's design... to bring forth the civil government... in the image and resemblance of things above; and [whenever men]... have measured religion and the appearances of God according to rules and ends of

- policy, it hath been the ruin of all states.' Such, he considered, was the fault in the English body politic at that time (Woodhouse, I34-5).
40. 'Mock Speech from the Throne (His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament)', (I675): repr. in Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, I25-7. For its authenticity, cf. I24. This parody was intended to anticipate Charles' actual speech (Kelliher, III); which Marvell summarized in a letter to the Hull Corporation (I44-5).
 41. See Kelliher, II2.
 42. Clark, 58, ascribes Clarendon's fall to his foreign policy, especially to the Dutch War - noting that he became a scapegoat for the latter, 7I.
 43. For Clarendon's interest in episcopacy, see Kelliher, 98.
 44. Margoliouth suggests that the poem is probably authentic, I.263.
 45. For the view that the plague and the fire were the judgements of God, see Clark, 66. Cf. also Dryden's Annus Mirabilis, which implies the judgements and the providence in these events (the year was Annus Mirabilis - I666 - because 666 was the Number of the Beast, and as a result that year had been expected to produce wonders). For the fact that the three disasters Marvell mentions are war, plague, and fire, see Margoliouth, I.264.
 46. When Clarendon was arraigned for high treason, Marvell was one of the members of the committee which - enquiring into the conduct of the Dutch War - arraigned him. In that committee, Marvell's insistence upon one point has seemed to a biographer an instance of gratuitous malice (Kelliher, 84). This point concerned Clarendon's alleged aspersions upon the king: that the latter was 'an inactive person and indisposed for government' (quoted ibid, 84). I would suggest that this debate actually provided an opportunity for Marvell to publicize (in the consequent indictment) the fact that the king had been damned out of the mouth of one of his own ministers. It was an indirect hit, without danger to Marvell himself, at Charles II.
 47. For accounts of the 'Four Lords' affair see Clark, 87; Kelliher, 90. The controversy involved a constitutional question raised by Charles II's treatment of his Parliament. Cf. also Marvell's letter to Sir Edward Harley, of 7 Aug. I677, which recounts the release of the several Lords; and his letters to the Hull Corporation, nos. 2IO-2I2, on their imprisonment.
 48. Clark, 8I.
 49. Ibid, 3.
 50. Ibid, 3n.
 51. Ibid, 3n; 8I-2.
 52. They were married in I657, when Buckingham returned from exile. For a brief life of Buckingham, see Clark, 77n; for an account of his acquaintance with Marvell, see Kelliher, 90-9I; and cf. Burdon, I7-I8, who suggests that Buckingham may already have known Marvell in I646. He relates this possibility to Marvell's poem on Buckingham's younger brother, Villiers (I648). Marvell (I62I-78), Buckingham (I628-87), and Shaftesbury (I62I-83) were close contemporaries.
 53. Clark, 77n.
 54. See Kelliher, 92-3: who also discusses Wharton's acquaintance with Marvell.
 55. Margoliouth I.346: 'Of all the satires attributed to Marvell there is none of which one can feel less doubt.'

56. For a discussion of Loyall Scot's authenticity, see Margoliouth, I.385-7. I side with Legouis in accepting that portion of the poem rejected by Lord and Margoliouth, both of whom overrate Marvell's fastidiousness. Both Legouis and Margoliouth find Scaevola to be probably Marvellian.
57. K.H.D.Haley, William of Orange and The English Opposition (Oxford, 1953), Chapter 4: 'The Fifth Column'.
58. Ibid, 57-9.
59. Clark, 81.
60. Haley, 59. The group sponsored many pamphlets issued in England (ibid).
61. Ibid, 58.
62. Haley notes the anti-Popery platform of du Moulin's organisation, and cites this pamphlet as an example of pertinent productions (59). And cf. Clark, 81.
63. For the schizophrenic English attitude to the Dutch throughout this century, see Breslow, Chapter 4, 'The Dutch'; cf. Toon, 86. Clark, 61-2, discusses England's economic rivalry with the Dutch during the Restoration period, and its political effects.
64. Clark, 81.
65. Dean Morgan Schmitter, 'The Occasion for Marvell's "Growth of Popery"', JHI XXI (1960), 568-70, 568.
66. Schmitter, 568.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid, 569; the veiled reference to which he refers appears in GP, 374, where Marvell says that one of the articles treated in secret talks between Charles II and France involved 'An Act for marrying the Children of the Royal Family to Protestant Princes', implying that this is part of a popish plot.
69. Schmitter, 569-70.
70. Clark, 88.
71. Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, II5. According to Milton's letter to Bradshaw, Marvell spoke Dutch. (Donno, Critical Heritage, 99-100). Hunt discusses Marvell's acquaintance with Holland in his fourth chapter.
72. See Marvell's letter to the Hull Corporation, no. 36 (37-8); and to Trinity House, nos. 5-6. Cf. also Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, 5-6.
73. See Kelliher, 79.
74. Kelliher discusses this friendship, and Ayloffe's membership of the Dutch Fifth Column, I20.
75. Clark, 90.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid. For Protestant internationalism generally, cf. Chapter II.i, supra, and IX.i-ii, below.
78. Margoliouth finds the poem to be 'certainly genuine', I. 379. Cf. Kelliher, I03.
79. See Kelliher, 79. For Blood's complicated career in intelligence - both for England and for Holland - see Haley, 65-6.
80. Cf. the imagery discussed in Chapter V.ii, below.

Chapter V

- I. See, e.g., Donal Smith, 'Andrew Marvell', 97; Donno, Critical Heritage, 5.
2. Donno also thinks that Marvell's political usefulness was such that his prose and satires would have been emphasized by the Whigs, and thus overshadowed the lyrics. She notes also, 5-6, that Marvell's works were frequently issued, in later editions, for political motives.

3. See, for example, Parker's comments on the First Anniversary, repr. in Donno, Critical Heritage, 85-6: he is particularly offended by Marvell's use of eschatology in a poem that lauds Cromwell.
4. James Yonge in his Journal (I68I-2), repr. in Donno, Critical Heritage, IO2.
5. Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses (I69I-2), repr. in Donno, Critical Heritage, 54. Opponents readily recognized Marvell as a Nonconformist chiliast: see, for instance, Richard Leigh (*ibid*, 3I); and RT, I86, where Marvell notes that Parker calls him a 'fanatic' in order to imply that the poet's defence of the Nonconformists is pure self-interest. This, and RT, I38, demonstrate Marvell's care to frustrate such characterizations of himself. Later commenters seem to have failed to penetrate this characteristic attempt both at self-protection and at a strengthening of his case, as disinterested.
6. See L.A.Davies, 'An Unpublished Poem about Andrew Marvell', YES I (I97I), IOO-IOI. (The text used here is that which he prints.) He dates the poem to I689-97.
7. Davies rightly suggests this echo, IOI.
8. Cf. Chapter VII.v, below.
9. Cf. Davies, IOI.
- IO. In 'Marvell's Ghost' (c.I678), where Marvell's spirit returns to warn England of her ruin. (Cf. Kelliher, I20.)
- II. See, for instance, the observations of Upton (an eighteenth-century critic), repr. in the Commentary to The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, 9 vols, ed. Greenlaw et al. (Baltimore, I932-57), I.309 et passim; John E.Hankins, 'Spenser and the Revelation of St.John', PMLA LX (I945), 364-8I; Waters-Bennett, Evolution, Chapter 9: 'The Creation of Book I'. Yates notes that the eschatological tenor of FQ is 'generally admitted' (72).
- I2. This view of ST.George, as the rescuer of the Church from the Dragon or Devil, is reiterated in Browne, Pseudodoxia, II.v.xvii.56.
- I3. Another Spenserian version of the Scarlet Whore is detected by Hankins, 366, in 'Lucifera'.
- I4. Cf. Milton's Sonnet, 'On the Late Massacre in Piedmont', where the Pope is 'The triple Tyrant' (I2).
- I5. This interpretation was made in an article by John Block Friedman, 'Antichrist and the Iconography of Dante's Geryon', JWCI 35 (I972), IO8-22.
- I6. 'The Ruines of Time', 7I-2.
- I7. The Puritan view of this 'judgement for sin' was explained in Chapter II.ii, *supra*. Royalists also saw sin as the source of the Civil War: e.g. Evelyn, 'Of Liberty and Servitude' (I649), Miscellaneous Works, II; Henry Vaughan, 'To Mr. M.L. Upon His Reduction of the Psalms..', 32.
- (1952)

I8. In PMLA LXVII, 790-808.
- I9. Other such studies have appeared since this Chapter was written. They are Christopher Hill, Milton and the English Revolution (I979); Joseph A.Wittreich Jr., Visionary Poetics: Milton's Tradition and His Legacy (San Marino, Calif., I979). For discussion of the latter, see my review in Book Auction Records 76 (Aug.I978-July I979), xvi-vii.
20. See Lamont, I25.
- 2I. Cf. his The Reason of Church-Government, which asserts that the English are 'the elect people of God' (Bohn edn., II.508).
22. Ball, 28-9, 54. The biblical text for this axiom was Rev. xxii.20: where Christ avers, 'Surely, I come quickly'. This is the text upon which Richard Sibbes based his

- The Brides Longing for her Bride-groom's Second Coming (1638). Cf. also the Old Testament location of the idea, Isaiah xlv. 9-10, 13.
23. Milton, Bohn edn., II.418-9.
 24. Ibid, 91.
 25. Ibid, 395.
 26. Milton, Of Reformation, II.418.
 27. Ibid, 402.
 28. Milton, First Defence of the People of England, Bohn edn., I.211.
 29. The reference in stanza LVII to Davenant's Gondibert (1650) helps to date the poem in 1651 or after: it is usually dated between 1651-2 (the duration of Marvell's residence at Nun Appleton): see, e.g., Margoliouth, I. 281.
 30. The initial stanzas of the poem pose few difficulties and have been well enough explicated by several commentators, at least at their more evident level of meaning. (See e.g. Wallace, 238-9.) I will be explicating another level of meaning in Chapter VIII.ii, below.
 31. Cf. Hutchinson, who comments on the history of reformation in England that 'God in comparison with other countries hath made this as a paradise, so, to complete the parallel, the serpent hath in all times been busy to seduce' (5).
 32. The most prominent amongst them being D.C.Allen, Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry (Baltimore, 1960), 115-53, who also discusses Roman 'garden' poetry in relation to this poem; and cf. Maren-Sophie Røstvig, '"Upon Appleton House" and the Universal History of Man', ES 42 (1961), 337-51, who accepts Allen's point but herself expounds a typological and hermetic reading of the poem which is often somewhat strained, and gives no sense of a coherent aim in the poem. Cf. also her '"In ordine di ruota": Circular Structure in... "Upon Appleton House"', Tercentenary Essays, ed. Friedenreich; which volume includes also Isabel G. MacCaffrey, 'The Scope of Imagination in "Upon Appleton House"', treating the poem as an evocation of the imagination in 'speaking pictures'. Another typological reading is provided by Charles Molesworth in 'Marvell's "Upon Appleton House": The Poet as Historian, Philosopher and Priest', SEL 13 (1973), 149-62, who claims that 'the persona [of Marvell in the poem] dramatizes all the virtues of Appleton House and its owner'. Kitty Scoular [Datta] explicates the 'emblems' of nature in the poem in Natural Magic: Studies in the Presentation of Nature in English Poetry from Spenser to Marvell (Oxford, 1965), 120-90, but (again) leaves the "thread" of meaning in the poem obscure. Several commentators (possibly in the face of the same difficulty) have discussed the poem as a tapestry of 'perspectives' and 'transformations': amongst them Frank J. Warnke, 'Play and Metamorphosis in Marvell's Poetry', SEL 5 (1965), 23-30; Rosalie L. Colie, My Echoing Song: Marvell's Poetry of Criticism (Princeton, N.J., 1970); Frederick H. Roth, Jr., 'Marvell's "Upon Appleton House": A Study in Perspective', Texas Studies in Literature and Language XIV. 2 (1972), 269-81; cf. also Berthoff, 197, who briskly rejects "hermetic" readings of the poem but also applies a resolutely anti-historical interpretation of the poem as a 'masque of nature'. Too much criticism of this poem is either "hermetic" or "impressionistic" in kind, and "typological" readings tend to misapprehend the meaning of such images. Better than most such

- "typological" readings is that of Barbara Lewalski, 'Typology and Poetry: A Consideration of Herbert, Vaughan and Marvell', Illustrious Evidence: Approaches to English Literature of the Early Seventeenth Century, ed. Earl Miner (London, 1975), 41-69; J.B. Leishman explicates Maria's progress by the "praise of the mistress" in contemporary poetry, in The Art of Marvell's Poetry. D.C. Evett discusses the poem as an ideal landscape in '"Paradise's Only Map": The Topos of the Locus Amoenus and the Structure of Marvell's "Upon Appleton House"', PMLA LXXXV (1970), 504-13, making one or two mistakes of mere fact. The relationship of the poem to current interest in gardens is discussed by Hunt, ch.6; and cf. his 'The Gardenist Background for Marvell's Poetry', Approaches to Marvell, ed. Patrides; which also includes Warnke's 'The Meadow-Sequence in "Upon Appleton House": Questions of Tone and Meaning'. Pedestrian readings of the poem may be found in L.W. Hyman, Andrew Marvell (New York, 1964); Donald M. Friedman, Marvell's Pastoral Art (1970), and in Toliver, Marvell's Ironical Vision. Criticism of the poem is, in general, confused: Legouis' accusation that Wallace (see supra) indulges in 'flights of New Criticism' can also be levelled (in the sense intended) at many purportedly "scholarly" interpretations of the poem. Some other interpretations of the poem are noted in Chapter VIII.ii, below, and the Notes thereto; and cf. note 67, below.
33. The same pun appears in Marvell's late prose tract, Howe: 'If any man do but carry this about with him, as Mr. Howe does thorow his whole troublesome journey, it is a certain remedy against all gauling' (196).
 34. At this time wars were interpreted as signs of the Latter Days and the approaching Coming, and the Civil War in particular was so regarded. See Ball, 100-101. (Cf. Fanshawe's Ode, stanza I.)
 35. The idea that in some way (and for whichever purpose) the Red Sea is a type here, is accepted by many commenters on the poem: see, e.g. Røstvig, '"Upon Appleton House" and the Universal...', 339.
 36. In this relation it is useful to recall that 'European gardens... offered a whole abstract of the world outside', according to Hunt, 91, who notes that this poem evokes the world's whole natural order.
 37. Samuel Hartlib, The Reformed Husband-Man; or a Brief Treatise of the Errors, Defects, and Inconveniences of our English Husbandry... (1651), 5.
 38. Most critics are agreed that the Nunnery is not favourably presented, but Douglas Bush took a peculiar course in suggesting that here 'Marvell... celebrates the devout lives of the former nuns' (English Literature, 160); contrast Evett, 508; Allen, 119; Røstvig, '"Upon Appleton House" and the Universal...', 342; Berthoff, 196; Hunt, 97.
 39. 2 Thess. ii.9; cf. Chapter IV.ii, supra.
 40. The source for the traditional characterization of Christ as the Bridegroom was Psalm xix.1-5. He "married" His Bride - the Church - only at the Second Coming: see, e.g., Sibbes, The Brides Longing For Her Bride-groom's Second Coming, 50-51. The wedding occurs in the marriage 'of the Lamb', Rev. xix.7. Thus the New Jerusalem, 'prepared as a bride adorned for her husband' (Rev. xxi.2), was, as Christ's "spouse", the New Testament anti-type of the Bride/Church in the Song of Solomon. That Song itself had eschatological relevance: a full exposition of which was provided by Thomas Brightman, A Commentary on the Canticles

- (Amsterdam, 1644).
41. Apparently Fairfax had observed Williams' fall with some satisfaction (Margoliouth, I.285).
 42. Fairfax's anticatholic attitudes are evinced in Bodleian MS. Fairfax 40, a manuscript collection which contains various anti-papist materials, especially in the latter half of the volume. See esp. 602-610, and e.g. 604ff., a translation of "A Carracter of the Romish Church by Francisco Petrarca - Laura. Can: 106", which describes the Roman Church as 'a shameles strumpet' (606). (This is taken to be an autograph collection: see Leishman, 252n.) Eschatological rhetoric was familiar to Fairfax, who had spent the Civil War years not only himself engaged in the 'Holy War', but also subjected (especially by Army representatives and by Cromwell) to the various degrees of chiliastic oratory employed at this time. He would readily have understood the drift of Marvell's poem.
 43. Cf. Marvell's similar evocation of the eschatological military theatre in Europe, in First Anniversary, Horatian Ode, and Ingelo (Chs. iii, supra, vi and vii, below).
 44. Cf. Chapter II.i, supra, and Chapter VIII.i, below.
 45. The type is taken as the meaning of this stanza by Røstvig, "'Upon Appleton House" and the Universal...', 340. For the typological terms used here, see Galdon, 30-31: 'the type signifies the anti-type, and the anti-type fulfils the type'. Thomas Adams, Spiritual Navigator, supplies a contemporary instance of this terminology: 'The accordance of the Type and Anti-type stands thus...' (7).
 46. For the Red Sea as traditionally a figure of baptism, see ibid, 7; Galdon, 21-2; Browne, Pseudodoxia, II.vi.ix. I78. Arnold Whittick, Symbols: Signs and their meaning and Uses in design, second edn. (1971), 348, notes that it is a prophetic symbol both of baptism and of entry to the promised land.
 47. Jeremy Taylor, The Golden Grove: Selected Passages from the Sermons and Writings, ed. L.Pearsall Smith (Oxford, 1930), 278. Marvell was familiar with Taylor's works: he cites the latter as a worthy authority in Smirke, 85. For another twist on the Latter-Day meaning of the anti-type, see Milton, De Doctrina, Bohn edn., 477-8 and PR III.433f.
 48. Adams, Spiritual Navigator, 9, says that in crossing the 'redde sea... the olde Israelites [are types] of the new and true Israelites'.
 49. By Roth, 278: he sees this stanza as 'the structural and thematic center of' the poem, but fails to explain why he thinks so.
 50. See, e.g., Browne, Pseudodoxia, II.v.iii.7-8. And the Geneva Bible's gloss on this passage of Revelation (1560): 'The elect for a certaine space... are in troubles: for the greshoppers [viz. locusts] endure but from April to Septēber, which is fiue moneths.' Note that harvest-time (the season appropriate to this section of the poem) falls within the period stipulated here. For the identification of Locusts and grasshoppers cf. also OED. Considerable critical discussion has been devoted to Marvell's 'Grasshoppers' here. D.C.Allen finds their origin in Nahum iii.I7 and sees them as 'the royal grasshoppers' contrasting with the 'parliamentary mowers' (I34-5), whereas Røstvig sees 'an allusion to that race of giants which peopled the earth between the expulsion from the garden and the Flood' ('"Upon Appleton House" and the Universal...', 343); another alternative was suggested by Legouis, 'Marvell's Grasshoppers', N&Q n.s. V. 3 (1958), 108-9, who thinks that there is an allusion here to

Numbers.

51. RT, 238.
52. In the verses quoted, Marvell is referring to two distinct types of scene-change used by Inigo Jones. Various explanations of the poem's masque-motif have been proffered by Evett, 509 ('their [the mowers'] activities are somehow unreal, Marvell suggests, by reference to the artifice of a masque'); Allen, II9 ('an allegorical masque of the recent civil disorders'); Berthoff, I65 (the poem 'can best be considered as a masque of nature presented as a tribute to a public figure whom Marvell seeks to honour'); Davison, Poetry of Marvell, 53 ('a typical Marvellian humanisation of natural processes'). None of these comments go very deep, and Bradbrook's essay on 'Marvell and the Masque', Tercentenary Essays, ed. Friedenreich, is no more helpful. Hunt also discusses the relationship between masques and gardens, I04-6.
53. Tuveson, 4-5, notes the ubiquity of this theatrical characterization of history. For the importance of Beard's book, see Lamont, I22-3. Cromwell admired it: Maurice Ashley, The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell (I958), 43. Thomas Browne uses the image more than once (cf. note 54, below): e.g., 'this latter scene of time' (Hydriotaphia, Selected Writings, ed. G.Keynes, V.I50). Marvell also uses the image in GP, 4I2 (and cf. this thesis, passim). Cf. Jan van der Noodt, Theatre for Worldlings (I569): epigrams and Sonnets from Spenser's translation of which are repr. in The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser, 3 vols., ed. E.de Sélincourt (Oxford, I9IO), I, Appendix, 484-504.
54. Browne, Religio Medici, I.47; and cf. O.A.Patrides, The Grand Design of God (I972), 83.
55. Similarly, Marvell describes a later attempt 'to have raised a Civil War' as aiming to make of England a 'rase champagne of religion, government, and propriety' (GP, 304). In both cases, Marvell is intimating a situation of desolation.
56. Fairfax himself had been involved in the Grandees' negotiations with the Leveller leader, John Lilburne, and with the gradual suppression of his party in I649; the Army was, of course, a reservoir of Leveller support at that time.
57. The Digger movement's aspirations are best represented by the works of Gerrard Winstanley, especially his 'manifesto', The Law of Freedom (I652): repr. in Winstanley, The Law of Freedom and other Writings, ed. Christopher Hill (Harmondsworth, I973). Winstanley did not flinch from warning both Fairfax and Cromwell that they had no right to appropriate the powers wrested from the king, and that they must attend to the wishes of the 'people': for an example, see Selections from the Works of Gerrard Winstanley, ed. L.Hamilton (I944), 275-7.
58. On the literal level, Marvell is 'recollecting.... the picture of the creation of the animals, "th'Universal Heard", in Davenant's Temple of Praise' (Scoular, I88). Cf. Gondibert II.vi. Marvell refers to Davenant's poem in RT, 47.
59. In this relation I would re-evaluate the attention paid to optical perspectives (e.g. in LXIII) by Roth, amongst others: their elucidations of such effects miss the point by elevating (precisely) an effect to an argument. The fundamental function of such effects is, in fact, to enact the micro/macrocosmic relationships of meaning in the poem, and to make us aware of the larger contexts or 'perspectives' implied by the poem. This function is most readily related to the imagery of masques, which themselves

often involve changes of scenery or 'perspective' (in both physical and thematic senses); and in this fashion such effects contribute both to the scale and the 'history' of the poem.

60. Jeremy Taylor, 280-81.
61. Thomas Adams, Spiritual Navigator, 47.
62. This image is usually read by critics as referring in some way to the first Flood (Evelt, 510; Lewalski, 66; Allen, 132). As in the case of the Red Sea motif, critics fail to recognize that these images have a peculiar contemporary relevance (like the rest of the poem) which is based upon the anti-types that distinguish the Last Days.
63. The relationship between the Denton estate and the regular flooding at Nunappleton is revealed by a sequence of letters in the TLS: R.Wilson, 'Marvell's Denton' (26 Nov. 1971, 1481), John Newman, 'Marvell's Appleton House' (28 Jan. 1972, 99), A.A.Tait, 'Marvell's Appleton House' (11 Feb. 1972, 157), James Turner, 'Marvell' (31 Mar. 1972, 367). See also Hunt's description of the Nun Appleton estates and their topography, 83-5.
64. Hebrews x.37: 'For yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry'; cf. Rev. xxii.20, 'He [Christ] who testifieth these things saith, Surely, I come quickly. Amen: Even so, come, Lord Jesus.'
65. For the contemporary re-echoing of Rev. xxii.20, see Ball, 53-4; Toon, 113. And cf. note 22, supra.
66. See, e.g., Jeremy Taylor, 278, who refers to 'the first day of Judgement... that (I mean) of the universall deluge of waters upon the old World.'
67. See Lewalski, 53, who explicates Noah's Ark and the Ark of the Covenant in Herbert's The Church Militant as types of that Church. The typology of the Ark could also refer to the individual Christian. See Galdon, 134-5. Marvell himself uses the image of the Ark of the Church in The Character of Holland, 67-8. For his other uses of this image, see Chapter IX, below.
68. This tradition is discussed in detail in Chapter VII, ii-iv, below.
69. Scouler, 143n., notes that '"Propheticke trees" were not uncommon in contemporary poems'. For yet another view of the 'mosaic' pun see Allen, 146 and Røstvig, 347, who both see here a reference to the burning bush.
70. The "Book of Fate" was a traditional image: cf. Shakespeare, 2 Henry IV, III.i.45-6: 'O God, that one might read the book of fate,/ And see the revolutions of the times.'
71. John Wilkins, A Discourse Concerning the Beauty of Providence in all the rugged passages of it (1649), 63. Cf. Toon, 52, citing the influential exegetical work of Alsted. And cf. Marvell's statement of a belief in the "natural signs" of Providence in General Councils, 148. The Scriptures were believed to explicate such natural 'signs': see, e.g., Thomas Burnet, The Sacred Theory of the Earth, ed. Basil Willey (1965), III.240. Hence Marvell's is a specialized use of the idea that Nature is God's 'Book' (as in, e.g., Browne, Religio, I.16).
72. Jeremy Taylor, 280.
73. This was the 'mare vitreum'. See Browne, Religio, I.50; Burnet, Sacred Theory, III.239; Adams, Spiritual Navigator, 38. The reference to Revelation is iv.6: 'Before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal'
74. These features of Maria's Coming, and the motif of Peace, are discussed further in Chapter VIII.ii-iii, below.

75. The appellation, 'Paradice's only Map' is applied initially to the estate itself, but as the estate reflects Maria's nature (11.750-2), it describes her too by implication.
76. Cf. the second stanza of the poem: 'The low-roof'd Tortoises do dwell/ In cases fit of Tortoise-shell:/ No creature loves an empty space;/ Their bodies measure out their place'. In this fashion the last stanza recalls the beginning of the poem.
77. Critical comment on the last stanza (of which T.S.Eliot disapproved) tends to be impressionistic or evasive: for some examples of the kind, see Evett, 512; Allen, 153; Roth, 280; Toliver, 129; Berthoff, 193. Leishman, 221-2, and Bradbrook, 33n., think that Marvell's notion of 'Shoes-Canoos' may have been suggested by a Cleveland poem.
78. See Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution (Harmondsworth, 1975), 19; Toon, 67.
79. Toon, ibid.
80. Acts xvii.5-6.
81. Hill, World, 19.
82. George Gillespie, 'A Sermon Preached before the House of Commons', 27 March 1644: quoted in Hill, Antichrist, 86.
83. The Character of Holland, 58; cf. RT, Grosart, III.464: where Marvell notes that the apostles desired no 'impery'. *
84. Historical Essay on General Councils, 92. And compare too ibid 142, where he reminds his readers that 'humility' is 'the lowliest but the highest of all Christian qualifications'. A similar thought is expressed by Stephen Marshall in a sermon to the House of Commons, The Song of Moses... and the Song of the Lambe (London, 1643), 15: 'Was not Luther a poor Monk...? Who were they but the poorer, and meaner sort of people, that at the first joyned with the Ministers, to raise the building of Reformation: few, of the Princes, & Nobles, putting their necks to the work of the Lord; ... and although in the progresse of the work, many Kings and Princes have stood as nursing Fathers, yet still we may observe, that the greatest things have been done by them, from whom least could be expected.' Marshall is expressing the contemporary moral for those Parliamentarians engaged in the effort for reformation. Beard, 6-7, sees the "high and mighty" of the world as those who are most culpable in their actions, and who therefore stand in most need of his lesson in God's 'judgements'. Isaiah ii.12-17 informed the proud that the Last Day involved their destruction in particular. All these instances manifest the tendency of chiliasm towards radicalism in this period.
85. The passage appears in Smirke, 22: answering Turner's accusation that Croft is 'turning all upside down', Marvell comments: 'wherein does he "turn all upside down"? This hath been a common topick of ecclesiastical accusation. Our saviour was accused that He would "destroy the Temple" [Mark xiv.58]. The first martyr Stephen was stoned as a complice. And Saint Paul... was made odious upon the same crimination... Acts xvii.5,6. For, "certain lewd fellows, of the baser sort, set all the city in an uproar, crying, those that have turned the world upside down are come hither also".'
86. Cf. note 54, supra.
87. For example, Roth, 277; and Allen, 146-7; Lewalski, 65; all read Marvell's attitude as critical of Fairfax's retirement.

St. William Symonds, Virginia (1609), A2^v: Christianity has caused 'the surprising and conquering of great Nations, by Fisher-men'.

88. Wilkins, 34: 'the hearts and affections of men do follow the guidance of his decrees; men may do after their own counsels and inclinations, but they are still sutable to his Providence'; thus they 'still accomplish his counsell in prosecuting their own designes' (56). Cf. Browne, Religio, I.43: 'all the creatures of God in a secret and disputed way doe execute his will'.
89. E.g., for Bush, I60, the poem is 'relatively formal and uneven and overlong'; Legouis finds it 'composite rather than composed', a 'long, too long, poem' (Andrew Marvell, 63, 82); Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas find it 'uneven, muddled' (38); Robin Grove, 'Marvell', Melbourne Critical Review 6 (1963) is even more damning. It is worth noting that even those critics who do admire the poem rarely succeed in portraying it as coherent, or in suggesting a major thematic objective within it.
90. See note 4, supra, for Allen and Leishman; Summers provided an account of the poem in the Introduction to his selected edition of Marvell's poems (cit. supra), in which he emphasized the ideas of "action vs. the retired life" in the poem, and its "perspectives"; the essay to which I refer here is that cited in the Introduction, supra. Leishman had already noted that Maria's 'vitriifying' activity referred to the vitrefaction of the world at its End, although this point is isolated in his general account: since he considers Maria as an example of the "mistress organizing the landscape", a contemporary trope.
91. For accounts of the genre of the country-house poem in this period, see G.R.Hibbard, 'The Country-House Poem of the Seventeenth Century', JWCI XIX (1956), 159-74; and Charles Molesworth, 'Property and Virtue: The Genre of the Country-House Poem in the Seventeenth Century', Genre I (1968), 141-57. Leishman, 253ff., discusses this poem as 'formally related' to the genre.
92. Christopher Hill, God's Englishman, 219, saw the same 'Puritan integration of freedom and necessity' in this line.

Chapter VI

- I. This poem, which is no more vulnerable to attacks upon its authenticity than the Ode, has recently suffered from critical attempts to exclude it from the canon. George de F.Lord, editor of Andrew Marvell: Complete Poetry (New York, 1968) - a book which I have been unable to obtain - was the first to attack its genuineness. For a survey of Lord's policy and decisions on authenticity, see Michael Wilding's review in MLR 66 (1971), 664-5. Both Donal Smith ('Andrew Marvell', 96) and Legouis (Margoliouth, I. 304) have recognized that such attacks on the poem's authenticity seem to be motivated by the fact that (for critics taking a 'republican' line on Marvell) it is an 'inconveniently royalist poem' (Smith, 96; Margoliouth, I.304). For instance, Patterson rejects May's authenticity in the service of her 'republican' thesis (Marvell and the Civic Crown, 119n.) It does not seem to have occurred to critics taking this approach that perhaps they should rather question their 'republican' account of Marvell. Those who accept the poem as authentic are, not surprisingly, in the majority (e.g., Margoliouth, I.303; Donno, Complete Poems, prints it as such; Summers, Selected Poems, 150n.; Kermode, Selected Poetry, xii; Hyman, Marvell, 75. Legouis (Margoliouth, I.304) and I agree not only in finding it authentic, but also in associating it with

- the voices of Fleckno and Character of Holland, both of which are close to it in dates of composition.
2. Legouis, Andrew Marvell; Margoliouth, I.295; Brooks and Bush, repr. in Michael Wilding (ed.), Marvell: Modern Judgements (1969); Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, 72-6; L.W. Hyman, 'Politics and Poetry in Andrew Marvell', PMLA LXXIII (1958), 475-9; J.A.Mazzeo, 'Cromwell as Machiavellian Prince in Marvell's An Horatian Ode', JHI 20, I (1960), I-I7. Other studies of the poem are listed in the Bibliography.
 3. Augustine, The City of God, ed. and tr. D.Knowles and H. Bettenson (Harmondsworth, 1972), XI.32, 465; cf. XII.4, 475.
 4. In so doing, Marvell was pursuing orthodox chiliast ideas. Cf. e.g. Wilkins, 72: 'Let no man presume to censure the severall vicissitudes and changes of things, as if they were unseasonable and ill contrived'; 'we should not take upon us the peremptorie censure of times and dispensations, presuming to condemne those things, which we cannot understand' (83). Wilkins observes that this obedience to Providence is especially necessary in the current situation of Civil War - in which Providence was working for good, a good that must be located by believers (69-71).
 5. Marvell had said as much in First Anniversary, where he noted that Providence was directing events, although 'undiscern'd by the tumult blind'. Cf. Wilkins, 72: 'we do in this world (for the most part) see onely the dark side of Providence'.
 6. Although May was written in 1650, it may have undergone a slight topical adaptation in 1661, when May's body was transferred from Westminster Abbey (see Margoliouth, I. 303; cf. Summers, Selected Poems, 150n.); the lines involved (89-90) have no bearing on my discussion, however, as they consist merely of a joke on the removal. As Kelliher notes, 63, Marvell had a habit of continuously revising some of his poems.
 7. As Wilkins noted, it was especially important to understand the "utility" of events in a time of Civil War: 'this observance of God's works and dispensations, is a duty always seasonable, but more especially in such times as these... these disturbed confused times, may be best improved by observation, and do most set forth the wisdom of Providence' (62-3). And cf. the similar moral of a Fast Sermon to Parliament, Matthew Newcomen, A Sermon of the Right Use of Disasters (London, 1644).
 8. This belief followed upon the idea, mentioned and documented in Chapter V.iii, supra, that men's own inclinations were utilized by God for His purposes. Thus Marvell noted in General Councils that the bishops' contumely was utilized by Providence for their own chastisement (cf. Ch. III.ii, supra); cf. ibid, 136, where Marvell notes God's supervision of Julian's persecution as a scourge for the bishops, and the subsequent 'remarkable stroke of God's judgement' suffered by Julian himself. Cf. Beard, God's Judgements, 379: 'God busieth sometime the most wicked about his will, and maketh... the diuell himselfe serue... to bring to passe his fearefull judgements'; and Wilkins, 55-6: 'many self-interested men 'stil accomplish his counsell in prosecuting their owne designes'.
 9. For instance, J.S. Coolidge, 'Marvell and Horace', MP 63 (1965), III-20; L.Proudfoot, 'Marvell: Sallust and the Horatian Ode', N&Q (29 Sept. 1951), 434; A.J.N.Wilson, 'An Horatian Ode... the thread of the poem and its use of classical allusion', CQ II (1969), 325-41.
 10. The only critic who seems to have discussed the 'Roman

- colour' in May is Hunt, who suggests a view different from mine: that either 'Marvell here wishes merely to say that such analogies must, like his own, make real sense or to voice a bold antithesis to or even revulsion from his own practice' (I3I).
- II. Cf. Margoliouth's remarks on Marvell's use of Lucan's Pharsalia (as he thinks) in the Ode: he recognizes that Marvell's dispraise of Lucan here makes any republican use of Lucan in the Ode unlikely (Margoliouth, I.305). R.H.Syfret had suggested parallels between Lucan's poem and the Ode, in 'Marvell's "Horatian Ode"', RES n.s., XII (1961), 160-72; I do not find such parallels either particularly convincing or structurally significant.
 - I2. Marvell disliked equally Parker's use of Roman analogies (RT, 64 et passim); like May, Parker used such parallels for a purpose distasteful to Marvell.
 - I3. Dante, The Divine Comedy, ed. D.L.Sayers and B.Reynolds, 3 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1973-5): Inferno.xxxiv.286-7.
 - I4. Cf., e.g., Horace's Ode IV.15, where the poet characterizes himself as a private man extolling a public theme.
 - I5. Kermode suggests that the poem did circulate privately, amongst Royalists (Selected Poetry, xii).
 - I6. I refer to the poem Epistle to Augustus. An article which illuminates the legal situation in Pope's time is C.R.Kropf, 'Libel and Satire in the Eighteenth Century', Eighteenth-Century Studies, VIII (1974-5), 153-68.
 - I7. See esp. Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods (New York, 1961), a study of the Christianization of the classical pantheon. See also Lawrence A.Sasek, The Literary Temper of the English Puritans (New York, 1961), which discusses Puritan use of classical authors and motifs (cf. Chapter VII.iiff., below). Blessington, Paradise Lost, suggests that Milton uses classical formulations for positive connotations of divinity in his epic; cf. other studies of classicism of that kind by Davis P.Harding, The Club of Hercules: Studies in the Classical Background of "Paradise Lost" (Urbana, 1962) and his Milton and the Renaissance Ovid (Urbana, 1946).
 - I8. Cf. his elegy on Hastings, where the Christian Heaven is inhabited by 'The gods themselves' (4I), amongst them 'Hymeneus' (43).
 - I9. This belief, its sources and its contemporary expressions, are documented in Chapter VII.ii-iii of this thesis.
 20. Cf. Horace's analogous move from private to public themes in Ode I.32.i. A similar exodus from the poetic concerns of the young man is described in Spenser's Proem (i), where the poet abandons pastoral for public themes: 'Lo I the man, whose Muse whilome did maske,/ As time her taught, in lowly Shepheards weeds,/ Am now enforct a far unfitter taske...'
 21. Margoliouth reads this to mean that 'To shut in and cramp a man of high courage is worse (less tolerable for him) than to oppose him. That is why Cromwell burst through his own party' (I.298). This seems to ignore the fact that no-one 'incloses' Cromwell: they 'inclose' 'with' him, which is rather different, since it carries the notion of engagement. Mazzeo manages to strain the couplet to mean that Cromwell is 'simultaneously overcoming and reconciling all the opposition in his own party, a feat more difficult than merely opposing an enemy.'
 22. See Chandos, plates (not numbered) between I28 and I29.
 23. A.J.N.Wilson, 335.

24. Legouis rightly notes that Marvell was 'consistently hostile to the native Irish all through his political career' (Margoliouth, I.301). See section vi, below.
25. Mazzeo accepts this section at its face value; Toliver, 190, thinks that 'The reaction to the Irish campaign... is... purely eulogistic'; Carens, 50, finds that 'the Irish tribute is, at the least, an imperfection in the poem'; Hyman, 'Politics', 476, says that 'The passage on Ireland is, of course, a grossly partisan description of Cromwell's campaign'.
26. See, e.g., Davies, 127.
27. Cf. A.J.N. Wilson, 331.
28. W.R. Orwen, 'Marvell's bergamot', *N&Q* (Aug. 1955), 340-1.
29. One example of the use of this libel against Cromwell is a passage in the spurious 'Sermon of Cromwell', repr. in Chandos, 464: 'it was I that juggled the late King into the Isle of Wight'. Milton denies the accusation in Second Defence, Bohn edn., I.283-4.
30. The italics are present in all the reliable editions of the poem: see Margoliouth's, for example.
31. Cf. the similar construction in First Anniversary, 106: there the 'nor yet angry Son' will eventually become 'angry'.
32. The administration was conducted by the Council of State (viz., the Grandees), which was chosen annually. For the tendentious relationship between Cromwell (and the Army) and Parliament, see Godfrey Davies, 146-9; and Richard Overton's diatribe against the new dictatorship (1649), in Shaw, 120.
33. For these niceties of the Roman 'principate', see Jane F. Gardner, Leadership and the Cult of the Personality (1974), Introduction, and chs. VIII-XI.
34. At his home in Velitrae.
35. In line 101 of the Ode.
36. Milton, First Defence, Bohn edn., I.129-30.
37. Here Marvell is using orthodox contemporary ideas of God's justice in history. According to Puritan thought, God executed strokes of judgement upon a nation by any of several means: 'he used the whip of a conquering nation, or he sent plague and flood, or he stirred up ambitious men to wage civil war'; and this was the reasoning which was applied to the Civil War in England (Walzer, 178-9). Cf. Marshall, Reformation, *passim*; and Chapter II.ii, *supra*. Indeed, Marshall's sermon tells the Commons that 'Gods wrath is kindled' against England, and that Marshall will enlighten them as to 'what kinde of flame it is'; 'a devouring fire' and a 'flame' of wrath (10, 9-12). Marvell's images of 'flame' and fire are of the same ilk, and express the same theme here.
38. Cf. Marvell's A Poem Upon the Death of O.C., 265-6: 'When angry Jove darts lightning through the aire,/ At mortalls sins.' Cf. also Spenser, FQ I.viii.9; Milton, PL II.173f.; VI.491; Virgil, Georgics I.328f.; Horace, Odes III.4; I.2; I.3.
39. Suetonius, Divus Augustus, 94.6.
40. Marvell had read Suetonius' life of Augustus: he quotes it in RT, 308-9.
41. Suetonius, 91.2.
42. Ibid, 94.2. Cf. Horace, Odes II.5; Virgil, Georgics IV.560f.; Ovid, Metamorphoses, 758-60.
43. Cf., e.g., Napier, Sig. C3; Hill, Antichrist, 145.
44. Marshall, Reformation, 52. And cf. 51: 'I... commend to you [this] example...' 'He executed the justice and

vengeance of God upon the Instruments of the Kingdoms ruine, the Idolatrous priests..." [I Kings xx.42]: the same Lord direct you, that in your great wisdoms you may bee as the Angels of God, to discern what is to be done with them [the bishops] who have been the troublers of our peace, and the greatest kindlers of God's wrath against us... let not the men escape, whom God appoints out to punishment'.

45. Revelation xvi; Matthew Henry, Acts to Revelation, 532.
46. Marshall, Reformation, 44. The seven vials of Revelation were understood as tribulations which would damage the power of Antichrist (e.g. ibid, 44-5); cf. Goodwin, Brief History, 209; Tuveson, 27. Marshall, 44, avers that 'all Protestant writers do agree' on this point.
47. Ibid, 44; Ball, 100-101. Cf. also 2 Esdras xv.5-42, which amplifies Revelation's and Matthew's descriptions of the Latter-Day wars. Cf. Chapter V note 34, supra.
48. Marshall, Reformation, 13.
49. 'Daniel had said of God, "he removeth... and setteth up kings", and the course of empires on earth was always subordinated to the ultimate conquest of all by [Christ's] kingdom' (Ball, 129; cf. Daniel ii.21). Thus it was observed during the Army's Putney Debates of 1647 that 'Jesus Christ his work in the last days is to destroy [Antichrist]...; and because it is so interwoven and entwisted in the interest of states, certainly in that overthrow of [Antichrist]... by Jesus Christ, there must be great alterations of states' (Goffe: repr. in Woodhouse, 40). Here Cromwell effects such a political 'alteration'. Remarks like Goffe's were used to justify the revision of the English state. Similarly, later the Fifth Monarchists justified their own revolutionary aims by the text, Jeremiah li.20: 'Thou art my... weapons... for with thee will I... destroy kingdoms'. (See Toon, 68).
50. RT, 135. Cf. Chapter III.iii, supra.
51. Cf. Thomas Fairfax, Bodleian MS. Fairfax 40, 582: 'As Natur's rule by providence deuine/ Soe Fortune too in an obstrucer line.'
52. These lines were misread as bespeaking a political acquiescence by Laurence Lerner, 'Andrew Marvell: An Horatian Ode...', Interpretations, ed. John Wain (1955), 68; cf. Wallace, 80. Legouis rightly disagrees with both of them, Margoliouth, I.300; although for a reason different from mine.
53. Cf. Fairfax's poem on Charles' execution, 'On the Fatal Day, Jan: 30 1648' (Bodleian MS. Fairfax 40, 600): 'But if the Power deuine permitted this/ His Will's the Law and ours must acquiesse'.
54. E.E.Duncan-Jones has rightly emphasized that there is no derogation here (Margoliouth, I.299).
55. Cf. Chapter V, note 53, supra.
56. For a succinct statement of this doctrine as Charles liked to hear it, see Roger Manwaring's 'Sermon before the King' (1627), repr. in Chandos, 313.
57. See, for instance, Godfrey Davies, 157-8; Hill, God's Englishman, 225; Milton, Poetical Works, ed. D.Bush, 188. The texts upon which justification for the regicide was largely based were Psalm cxliv.10, cxlix.6-9.
58. See Christopher Hibbert, Charles I (1968), 277.
59. See the detailed discussion of this belief in Chapter VII. ii, below.
60. Thomas Brightman, A Revelation of the Revelation (1615), in Lamont, 50. Cf. Goodwin, Brief History, 209, who states that the seven vials constitute 'the last act of

this long tragi-comedy' of eschatology. Contemporary writers often described the Civil War in particular as a 'tragedy' (see Cruttwell, 123). Characterizations of the Latter-Day tragedy were part of the eschatological metaphor of 'theatre', noted supra. Cf. also Chapter X.i., below.

61. Marvell uses the 'tragic' aspect of the metaphor again in GP, 412, where he notes that the Popish conspiracy prospers: 'It has now come to the fourth Act, and the next scene that opens may be Rome or Paris, yet men sit by, like idle spectators, and still give money towards their own tragedy'.
62. Cf. Chapter VII.ii, below.
63. Varro, De Lingua Latina, V.41; Pliny, Natural History, 28.15; Plutarch, Camillus, 31.4.
64. John M. Wallace had suggested that the 'Architects' were the regicides themselves; Claude J. Summers pointed out the fallacy in his interpretation, and suggested the 'Architects' to be the Parliamentarians who disapproved of the regicide ('The frightened Architects of Marvell's "Horatian Ode"', Seventeenth-Century News, 28 (1970), 4.
65. I am referring of course to the native Irish (as is Marvell). The quotation is from Edmund Calamy (1641), in Hill, Antichrist, 78. Cf. Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', 144, 158-60; Russell, 13; Jeremy Taylor, 'A Disuasive from Popery' (1664), Preface, The Golden Grove, 35-8; Temple, 44, 45.
66. Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', 150, notes that the Irish rebellion was believed by Englishmen to be a product of 'deep popish conspiracy'; the Irish represented one of several domestic threats from Antichrist.
67. See Godfrey Davies, 135. Cf. Aylmer, 114; John Goodwin, Anti-Cavalierisme: Or, Truth Pleading As well the Necessity, as the Lawfulness of this present War /against those/... who are now hammering England, to make an Ireland Of It (1642); cf. Temple, 44-5, and Marshall, Reformation, 47, who both urge that Parliament should succour the fellow-Saints persecuted in Ireland by the 'Papists'.
68. Godfrey Davies, 108, 112; 162-3, 116-7. Cf. Temple, 25-6; Marshall, Reformation, 47; both of whom express the contemporary hysteria about the 'massacre'. Cf. Marvell, GP, 259.
69. Both Temple (29) and Marshall (Reformation, 47) urged Parliament to rescue their fellow-saints in Ireland, and thus to reclaim a part of Britain herself from Antichrist.
70. See, for instance, Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book Named The Governor (1531), ed. S.E. Lehmberg (1962), 82: 'Caesar... is a noble example of industry, for in his incomparable wars and business incredible... he did not only excogitate most excellent policies and devices to vanquish or subdue his enemies, but also prosecuted them with such celerity and effect'.
71. See, e.g., Sallust, Bellum Catilinae, Loeb edn. (1931), VIII.5: 'prudentissimus quisque maxime negotiosus erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat.'
72. Cf. e.g. Milton, PL, XII.581-2, where Adam is admonished that he should 'add/ Deeds to thy knowledge answerable'. Cf. also Chapter VIII.i, below, which further examines the motif of zeal both here and in Marvell's works generally.
73. See Lamont, 94, 117.
74. See, e.g., Napier, Sig. C3. Cf. also Chapter IX.iif., below.
75. Cf. Herbert, Providence, where he cites as an example of God's providential care 'A servile hawk' 'tall without

- height' (IO3-4).
76. Horace, Odes IV.4.i.
 77. Seznec, 263. Wind, 96, describes the eagle's association with Jupiter Tonans in particular. Cf. also the epiphany of Jupiter the Thunderer on his eagle in Shakespeare's Cymbeline.
 78. Horace, Odes I.37.v.
 79. See Hill, Antichrist, IO5; Lamont, I44-5.
 80. Cf. Marvell's use of the 'horns' of the Beast in First Anniversary (Chapter III.iii, supra). Rev. xvii.I2: 'the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings'; cf. Rev. xvii I3-I5. According to Mede, the ten-horned beast of Rev. represented the secular power of the Pope, while the two-horned beast represented his religious power (Toon, 59). Cf. Goodwin, Brief History, 2I3; 'The Declaration of the Army in Scotland' (I Aug. I650), repr. in Woodhouse, 474-8, 477.
 81. Cf. Temple's assertion that 'where we see the false Religion hath received some blowes, we may assure our selves, a further ruine will certainly follow', because Revelation says so (46-7). Marvell makes that orthodox assumption here.
 82. See OED, A.I, A.I.6, B.2.
 83. For the full implications of this comparison, see Chapters VII-VIII, below.
 84. Virgil, Aeneid VI.789-806.
 85. See Godfrey Davies, I66.
 86. 'On the New Forcers of Conscience Under the Long Parliament' (c.I646), 20. Milton expressed the same antipathy to Presbyterian intolerance as to prelatical impositions (cf. Areopagitica), for reasons similar to Marvell's impatience of intolerance (cf. Chapter III.ii, supra); and the English Presbyterians were at this time doing their best to replace the established episcopal church with their own (to Milton and other liberal Puritans) equally repressive Establishment. Equally, there was hostility amongst many English Puritans to the imposition of Presbyterianism on the Scottish model, and also to alliance with the Scots (see Woodhouse, I5-I6).
 87. For the religious and political rifts between Independents and Presbyterians, see ibid, I6-I7; Lamont, chs. 4-5. Cromwell (an Independent) and the Army (largely anti-Presbyterian) had been engaged for some time in a power-struggle with the political arm of Presbyterianism that existed within Parliament.
 88. Marvell expresses his distaste for the 'Presbytery' in Lovelace (24). It follows from his other views, as delineated in Chapter III, supra, and is part of the common ground between himself and Milton.
 89. Ibid, I56.
 90. Cf. Vaughan, The King Disguis'd: 'O strengthen not/ With too much trust the treason of a Scot!'; cf. Rudrum, 328n. Also cf. Marvell's contempt for the 'Pict' in First Anniversary, 3I8.
 91. It was quite customary to use the word 'Fortune' for "Providence". Cf. e.g. Browne, Religio, I.I8.
 92. Sallust, Bellum Catilinae, II.4-5: 'Nam imperium facile eis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est.' Proudfoot seems to have been the first to notice this source (op. cit.). There is a parallel in RT, where Marvell says of respect for the clergy that 'things are best preserved by the same means they were at first attained' (I39).
 93. Cf. Marvell's classic statement of this ethic in First Anniversary, as discussed supra. Cf. Chapter VIII.1,

- below.
94. See, e.g., Horace, Ode I.4.
 95. This idea of a struggle with Antichrist at once spiritual and temporal was constantly reiterated throughout the 1640s and 50s, as a context for England's troubles both within and without. Thus one Puritan: 'more terrible than all flesh and blood [enemies], we have to do with Principalities and Powers, who act and guide... our humane adversaries... for [Satan]... is the spirit that stirres up all opposites both in Church and State' (Robert Baillie, cit. in Whiting, 234; cf. 239). Cf. Walzer, 290.
 96. In 'The erect sword in Marvell's "Horatian Ode"', EA 15 (1962), 172-4.
 97. See esp. PL VI.44: 'Michael, of celestial armies prince'. He is also the Archangel who, in PL XI-XII, is chosen to prophesy the eschatological design of history.
 98. The quotation is recorded from Whiting, 241. The Saints' side were, during the Civil War, understood to be 'Michael the Arch-Angel and his followers' (quoted ibid, 233; cf. 235). Michael was, in the struggle recorded in Rev. xii.1, understood to represent the power of Christ over Antichrist (see Hankins, 364-5).
 99. See Whittick, 207; Daniel xii.1, x.13; Jude ix; Rev. xii.7. Cf. PL VI.278, where Michael's is 'this avenging sword'. For further information on the iconography of Michael's sword, and its significance especially for the Last Day, see Philip Rollinson, 'The Traditional Contexts of Milton's "Two-Handed Engine"', ELN 9 (1971-2), 28-35. And cf. the illustrations of the Archangel reproduced in R.M.Frye, Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts: Iconographic Tradition in the Epic Poems (Princeton, N.J., 1978).
 100. A reproduction of the emblem can be found in Maurice Ashley, Oliver Cromwell and His World (1972), 89. Faithorne was a prominent artist at this time: see, e.g., his portraits of Fairfax and Milton.
 101. Michael was frequently portrayed as treading the Beast, signifying his victory over the latter in Revelation. (See, e.g., Rollinson's example of Michael 'standing triumphant over the Beast of the Apocalypse' (3In.))
 102. Hibbert, 275. For the idea of 'providential' government by the sword, see Joshua Sprigge's remarks during the Putney Debates, Woodhouse, 135.
 103. A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I, R.G.M.Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard (Oxford, 1970), 20.
 104. Francis Bacon, Advancement, 82.
 105. That emotional satisfaction was quite proper in chiliastic theory. Cf. Wilkins, 3.

Appendix II

1. 22; 2.
2. 16.
3. 2.
4. 7, 15; cf. 4-5.
5. 7.
6. 15.
7. 10. The pamphleteer is quoting Romans viii.28, a salient text for chiliasts. Cf. e.g. Wilkins, 73, 85.

Chapter VII

1. Barbara Herrnstein Smith, Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End (Chicago and London, 1968), 4-5.
2. Thomas Browne was another writer structurally affected by the historical design: see Patrides, Grand Design, 83.
3. Augustine, The Confessions, transl. E.B. Pusey (1907), xxviii-xxviii.38.274-5.
4. Cf. Chapter VIII.i., below.
5. Bacon, Advancement, 80.
6. Cf. Chapter III.iii supra, for Marvell's use of this idea in First Anniversary. Schulz, 795, notes the 'indeterminate' lengths of times denoted by such words as 'day' in biblical usage.
7. Milton, Areopagitica, Bohn edn., II.98; cf. Bacon, Advancement, 80-81; Wilkins, 72. And cf. Chapter III.ii, supra.
8. Milton, Areopagitica, II.89.
9. Milton uses this text to explain why the hour of the Coming is unknown to men: De Doctrina, IV.xxxiii.476.
10. Augustine, Confessions, xxxi.41.276.
11. Wilkins, 52; cf. Augustine, Epistle 137, 'To Volusian', Letters (Fathers of the Church Series, New York, 1953), III.31: 'the impressive order of creation from the beginning... the interlocking of time, giving credibility to the past by the present, giving authenticity to earlier happenings by later ones, and to ancient events by those more recent.'
12. B.H. Smith, 36.
13. See Daniel xii.9, which states that some prophecies remain "secret"; 2 Esdras xii.37-8, which enjoins the necessity to be "secret" in prophecy.
14. Thomas, 'Two Cultures?', 172. He also notes, 192, that millenarianism, with its visionary possibilities, was probably a boon to poetry in this period.
15. On Mr. Milton..., 53-4: an allusion to Wisdom xi.20, and refers to this idea that the poet imitates God as Creator. (As Margoliouth, I.338, confirms.) Moreover, Wisdom xi.20 celebrates God's providential care for man, which is Milton's subject in PL.
16. Tuveson, 4.
17. Indeed, Isaiah is the biblical Book that most fully manifests the desolatio/renovatio pattern, since the greater part of it is a diapason of blessing and punishment for the Chosen People. For a contemporary expression of this character of desolation, see Adams, Spiritual Navigator, 47-8.
18. Luther, quoted in Tuveson, 28; cf. Ball, 100.
19. Cf. Chapter VI.vi, supra. And cf. Webster, xvi.
20. Sibbes, The Bride, 45-6.
21. Milton, De Doctrina, IV.477; he cites also the traditional texts for this belief, Matthew xxiv.3-27 & 2 Timothy iii.1.
22. Cf. Chapter II.ii, supra.
23. Cf. the discussion of this sermon in Chapter II.ii.
24. Ibid, 31, supra.
25. See Walzer, 182.
26. Cf. Chapter II.ii, supra, and Chapter IX.ii, below, for detailed discussion of the complex of ideas involved.
27. Marshall, Reformation, 44. Cf. Ball, 186; Walzer, 182.
28. For interpretation both of the English Civil War and the Thirty Years' war as Latter-Day Wars and signs of the End, see Ball, 100-101. Cf. Wilkins, 63-6; and Chapter V note 34, Chapter VI note 47, supra.
29. Marshall, Reformation, 44-6.
30. Thomas Burnet, Sacred Theory, 239-40.

31. See Donno, Complete Poems, note to 1.402 (273).
32. Henry Robinson, Liberty of Conscience (1644), Preface: quoted in Woodhouse, 47.
33. For these various levels of 'renovation', see, for example, Thomas Collier, 'A Discovery of the New Creation', a sermon preached to the Army at Putney on 29 Sept. 1647, on the text Isaiah lxxv.17, which is the OT prophecy of Rev. xxi.; repr. in Woodhouse, 390-6. For the remaking of the world and nature, see also Tuveson, 6, 17.
34. See, e.g., Collier, Woodhouse, 394-6.
35. Cf. Chapter IX.ii, below. Cf. also Walzer, 182.
36. For the description of this process of 'Conversion' from the 'natural' man, see Alan Simpson, Puritanism in Old and New England (Chicago, 1961), 2, 4-5; cf. Woodhouse, 39-40.
37. Milton, PL XII.586-7; Hartlib, Macaria, 14. Augustine too had made an analogy between the soul's emparadisement and that of the earth: City of God, XII.xiv. And cf. Ball, 180.
38. From the title of a tract on the subject of inner Conversion: Thomas Goodwin, The Trial of a Christian's Growth: in Mortification, or purging out corruption; and Vivification, or bringing forth more fruit (1643), repr. in Works, III: see esp. 457ff..
39. For Marvell's statements of man's corrupted nature see Smirke, 81-2; Howe, 167-8; General Councils, 122; RT, 231, 268; Appleton House, LXX. For the 'new creature', see Howe, 168.
40. For Puritan self-monitoring, see Woodhouse, 21 and Walzer, 301. This is a process consequent upon Calvinist tenets. For Marvell's statements of it see General Councils, 125: 'Every man is bound to "work out his own salvation with fear and trembling" [Philip ii.12] - and therefore to use all helps possible... hearing, conferring, reading, praying for the assistance of God's Spirit; but when he hath done this, he is his own expositor, his own both minister and people, bishop and diocess, his own Council; and his conscience excusing or condemning him, accordingly he escapes or incurs his own internal anathema.' Cf. also RT, 246: 'Christianity has obliged men to very hard duty, and ransacks their very thoughts...'
41. In Genesis iii.13-19 it is prophesied that Christ will 'bruise' the head of the Serpent (Satan). This became an eschatological image, in which Christ trampled the Dragon/Serpent - symbolizing His victory at the End. See, e.g., Milton, PL X.189-91, prophesying the End: 'The realm itself of Satan long usurped,/ Whom he shall tread at last under our feet,/ Ev'n he who now foretold his fatal bruise.' (The reference is to Gen.iii.) Cf. Bodleian MS. Fairfax 40, 527. Marvell uses this motif for a witty turn in Illustrissimo Viro (cf. section v, below).
42. See M.R.James, The Apocalypse in Art (London, 1931), 31-2; cf. Rev. iv-v.
43. See, e.g., Temple, 50, echoing and citing this text. Cf. William Symonds, Virginia (1609), 53.
44. Temple, 5. Here he cites Hebrews ii.7, that in the Kingdom 'Thou has put all things in subjection under his feet'.
45. Temple, 30. Christ assumes His 'Crown' at the Last Day; cf. Ball, 185.
46. Temple, 30; Ball, 180; Collier, 390.
47. Temple, 30; describing the 'manner and quality of the Kingdom of Christ', he says: 'the Scriptures set it forth under two notions: first, that it is a Kingdom in us; Secondly, a Kingdom over us' (6). Cf. Sibbes, Bride, 44:

- 'Come Lord into our hearts first /before you come into the world/, and set up thy Kingdome and Scepter there', for 'your hea(r)ts bee the Kingdome of Christ... he rule(s) in your hearts' (74). Cf. I Peter ii.5 and I Cor. ii.16.
48. The words of Captain John Clarke, during the Putney Debates, repr. in Woodhouse, 39.
 49. See Margoliouth, I.290, where Legouis invokes Grosart, but himself rejects any but a "literal" interpretation of the 'Serpent'; a characteristic example of Legouis' attitude to the interpretation of Marvell.
 50. Jeremy Taylor, 280.
 51. Sibbes, Bride, 43-4.
 52. Milton, De Doctrina, IV.484-5.
 53. Ibid, 484. Fixler, 9, rightly notes that 'the regnum Christi was for Milton the ultimate justification of the ways of God.'
 54. Fixler, 13.
 55. Sibbes, The Bride, 45-6.
 56. Cf. Toon, 76.
 57. See, for example, Augustine, Epistle 137, 27-8.
 58. Ibid, 27; cf. Arthur Golding, Shakespeare's Ovid: Arthur Golding's Translation of the Metamorphoses (1567), ed. W.H.D.Rouse (1961), Epistle to Leicester, II.
 59. Augustine, Selected Letters, Loeb edn. (1953), Epistle 258, 499.
 60. Ibid; and cf. below, note 79.
 61. E.g. Augustine, Epistle 137, 28-9; The Letters of Abelard and Heloise, transl. Betty Radice (Harmondsworth, 1974), Letter 6: Abelard to Heloise, 181; Evelyn, History of Religion, I.92n. And cf. Domenico Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages, transl. E.F.M.Benecke (1966), 99-101; Yates, Astraea, 34, 36.
 62. Virgil was so regarded: Comparetti, 97-8.
 63. See, e.g., Francis Quarles, Hosanna (1647), repr. in facsim. Hosanna and Threnodes, ed. John Horden, English Reprints Series (Liverpool, 1960), sig. B2-B2v: 'Borne in Augustus time': 'And now the milde Augustus sate above/ The sphere of Rome like a Propitious love.../ And when the Olive branch of Peace was showne/ Then, not before, the Prince of Peace came downe!' Cf. Evelyn, History of Religion, I.98; Phineas Fletcher, The Purple Island, I.xxviii. See also Yates, 10. The biblical text for Christ as 'Prince of Peace' was Isaiah ix.6.
 64. Yates, 3-4; cf. 10.
 65. Ibid, 35.
 66. In Astraea.
 67. Yates, 39; cf. 61.
 68. To this point, the paragraph is indebted to Yates' account of this Elizabethan phenomenon, and esp. to 42ff.
 69. Cf. Chapter II.ii, supra; Breslow, 46-7; and Lamont's study, which traces the change in conception of 'Godly Rule'.
 70. See Sasek, Literary Temper, 78-80, 91; and, as a whole, his chapter 'As the Heathen Man Sayeth' (V).
 71. Sasek, 78, 87-8.
 72. Tuveson, 4.
 73. Yates, 4, 35-6.
 74. Rosemond Tuve, Images and Themes in Five Poems by Milton (Camb., Mass., 1957), 61 and n. Tuveson, 12, discusses Lactantius' influence upon millenarianism.
 75. Lactantius, The Divine Institutes I-VII, transl. Sister M.F.McDonald, O.P., Fathers of the Church (Washington, 1964), VII.xxiv.

76. Lactantius, VII.xxiv.530.
77. Thomas Browne, Religio, I.47, 53.
78. See Tuve, 6I: who notes also the similar interpretation of Psalm lxxxix.
79. Lactantius, VII.xxiv.53I-2.
80. Ibid, 532.
81. Tuve, 6I.
82. E.K.Rand, 'Milton in Rustication', SP XIX (1922), 109-35. Cf. also Tuve, 37-72. The influence of Virgil on Milton's works in general is considered by Harding (op.cit.), Blessington (op.cit.), and John R.Knott, Jr., Milton's Pastoral Vision: An Approach to "Paradise Lost" (Chicago, 1971). Cf. note 106, below; and Patrides, Grand Design, who also confirms Milton's eschatological emphasis in this poem (85; and cf. 97, note 65).
83. See Chapter II.i, supra; and section iv, below.
84. Cf. Tuve, 6I.
85. Ibid, 60.
86. Ibid, 60; cf. 39, 62.
87. Thomas Brightman's phrase for the concept of the Millennium.
88. Milton, De Doctrina, IV.493.
89. Marvell knew Lycidas when it was first published, which implies that he read the Ode then too, since they were issued in the same volume; for his acquaintance with Lycidas, see Margoliouth, I.290. For the probable date when their personal friendship began - c.1650/2 - see Kelliher, 86-7; Milton recommended Marvell for a post in 1653 (ibid); Edward Phillips, in his life of Milton, testifies to their friendship; in the RT (3II-I3) Marvell defended Milton, against those enemies who tended to attack them both equally; in 1674 he provided a commendatory poem for PL; Letters, 2 (305) of 2 June 1654 is to Milton; Aubrey confirms their friendship in his Life of Milton; and there are other symptoms of their close relationship (see Donno, Critical Heritage, 54).
90. Reminiscences of Milton are to be found in Fleckno (cf. Chapter IV.i., supra) of 1646/8; First Anniversary of 1654 (Margoliouth, I.324). In the latter poem, the Ode (168-72) is invoked in ll. 151-2 (cf. Margoliouth, I.323). Thus Joseph Summers, The Heirs of Donne and Jonson (1970), can conclude that Marvell 'quoted from Milton's poetry for 30 years' (133).
91. First Anniversary evinces Marvell's acquaintance with poem: see previous Note.
92. McQueen and Rockwell, 34n.
93. Legouis so dated the poem (Margoliouth, I.272), by a letter of Marvell's which probably refers to Maniban: the reference (mistaken there) is really to Misc.Letter no. 36 (346). Cf. also Legouis, 'Marvell's "Maniban"', RES II (1926), 328-35.
94. Donno, Complete Poems, 302; cf. McQueen, 33n. The poem has received scant attention.
95. Carl E.Bain, 'The Latin Poetry of Andrew Marvell', PQ 38 (1959), 436-49, 443-4.
96. McQueen, 33n.
97. Cf. ibid, 32-3n.
98. This is the allusion which I suggested can be compared with Marvell's use of Christ in majestate, treading the serpent, in The Coronet.
99. McQueen cites Aeneid III.441-52.as the source for 3I-2 here: I think that this echo of Virgil is intended to coalesce with Virgil's invocation of the Sibyl in Eclogue IV. There

- is another echo of the Aeneid (VI.726f.) in line 8 of Illustrissimo, as McQueen rightly notes, 32n.
 For another reminiscence of Virgil's epic, see Kenneth Muir, 'A Virgilian Echo in Marvell', N&Q cxcvi (17 Mar. 1951), 115: who notes an echo of Aen. VII in Marvell's The Nymph Complaining For the Death of Her Fawn.
- I00. Cf. McQueen, who correctly note that 'Marvell seems [here] to be casting doubt on Maniban's ability... and to inject in his allusion to the leaves a note of disorder and confusion' (34n.).
- I01. Cf. Chapter V.iii, supra, and the Notes thereto.
- I02. McQueen recognizes that there is a reference to the millennium here, and to Eclogue IV.4-10: but find that 'The meaning of the passage in this context is puzzling' (34n.).
- I03. Cf. the quotation from a Sermon to Parliament, p.35, supra.
- I04. See the Geneva Bible gloss on Rev. xiii; cf. Chapter V. ii, supra, for the Spenserian use of the topic.
- I05. See, e.g., Thomas Browne, Religio I.48.54-5 (Keynes edn.); cf. section ii, supra.
- I06. Patrick Cullen, 'Imitation and Metamorphosis: The Golden-Age Eclogue in Spenser, Milton, and Marvell', PMLA LXXXIV (1969), 1559-70.
- I07. Cf. note I08, below.
- I08. Pierre Legouis, 'Marvell's "Little T.C. in a Prospect of Flowers", an "Eclogue of the Golden Age"?', PMLA LXXXVI (1971), 275-7.
- I09. Yates, 33, 63, 66.
- I10. Ibid, 68.
- I11. RT, 305-6: Marvell quotes the Ovidian locus classicus for Astraea (Metamorphoses I.150); he twists its Elizabethan reference, in sarcastic deference to Parker's "Antichristian" proclivities, to make it refer to Mary Tudor; thus the papist 'usurpation' of the image implied here gives extra impetus to his rebuke to Parker's episcopal pretensions. The passage as a whole is an ironic Antichristian inversion of Reformation history in England, calculated to reveal Parker's ideas in their true colours.
- II2. Yates, 33-4.
- II3. See, for instance, Georgina Masson, Queen Christina (1974), 66f.; Breslow, ch.6: 'The King of Sweden'.
- II4. See, e.g., the quotation from Marshall, section ii, supra; Ball, I00-I01; Breslow, ch.2: 'The Palatinate', esp. I0, I4ff.; 2, I43. Cf. also note 28, supra.
- II5. Breslow, I28-33 (esp. I31); Thomas, 'Two Cultures?', I79. Cf. also Richard Fanshawe's 'An Ode, upon occasion of His Majestie's Proclamation...' (1630), iv-v.
- II6. Cf. Chapter IV.iii, supra; and Breslow, ch.4: 'The Dutch', esp. 74-6.
- II7. Masson, I96, I99, discusses the cordial relations between Christina and Cromwell; in Chapter 6 she discusses the negotiations for the Anglo-Swedish treaty, and Whitlocke's relationship with Christina and Oxenstierna, her chief minister.
- II8. Cf. Margoliouth, I.3I4.
- II9. Kelliher, 52, 59.
- I20. Margoliouth, I.3I5.
- I21. W.Hilton Kelliher, 'Marvell's "A Letter to Dr. Ingelo"', RES n.s. 20 (1969), 50-57 (hereafter described as Kelliher II), where he describes the discovery of the Arckenholtz text of this poem, which appears to have been a copy transcribed by a member of Christina's entourage. I

- disagree with his ironic conclusions about the poem on the basis of some minor differences in this text, which, as a transcription, cannot be regarded as of canonical authority: it was easy enough for the copier to mistake 'Nam' for 'Num', for instance, a difference upon which Kelliher allows much to hang.
- I22. Kelliher, 52n.
- I23. They translate, 'She is said... to have loved the free-born faith of a brave people.'
- I24. Second Defence, Bohn edn., I.250.
- I25. Ibid, 250: 'the only child of the renowned and victorious Adolphus'.
- I26. Ibid, 249.
- I27. Ibid, 249-50.
- I28. Ibid, 251.
- I29. Ibid, 250. For Christina's deserved reputation for learning, cf. Masson, passim; Descartes' visit to her court, I27-32.
- I30. Milton, Second Defence, I.250.
- I31. Ibid, 249.
- I32. Exactly the same words - 'Regia virgo' - were applied to Elizabeth as Astraea by a memorial poem, which is quoted in Yates, 79.
- I33. For the idea of the Creation 'ameliorated' by the First Advent, see e.g. Collier, 391. This is the Marvellian reference which I suggested his eulogist was invoking (Chapter V.i, supra).
- I34. See Breslow, 37.
- I35. Marvell always made skilful use of Latin characteristics for purposes of ambiguity and allusion: cf. Appendix III, below.
- I36. An adjusted Judgement of Paris appears in the Astraeon eulogies of Elizabeth I: for examples, see Yates, 63.
- I37. Kelliher II discovered two extra lines in the Arckenholz text: 'Ipsa sed & prono connivent sydera coelo/ Et flores lassus procubuerunt stylis.' In these lines the deference of stars and flowers to Christina reflects her nature as both the Virgoan star and the Astraeon Spring, to both of which their reverence is due.
- I38. For Elizabeth as 'Una' and thus the 'One Virgo' by which she was associated with universal monarchy, see Yates, 65-6.
- I39. For this characterization of Christina see Masson, I27; it refers to her great learning.
- I40. McQueen rightly recognized an allusion to Rev.ii.I7 in 'gemma' (62n.), although they do not recognize its eschatological significance here.
- I41. A comparison (in Second Defence, I.249-51) in which Milton in fact echoes Marvell's thought here: 'her example may well make innumerable kings hide their diminished heads' (251).
- I42. See Breslow, ch.2: 'The Palatinate', esp. I0 and I4ff., 'The Distressed Church in Germany'; and cf. I43.
- I43. McQueen, 62n., recognize the reference to the Catholic Church. Its reference to the Whore was recognized rather by Margoliouth, I.317.
- I44. A character in Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata, and eponymous for Edward Fairfax's translation of the poem, 'Godfrey of Buillogne' (I600).
- I45. 'A Discovery of the Great Fantasie... Together with a Discovery of the great Arch-Whore, and her Paramours or Lovers' (I642), Thomason Tracts, E.I24 (28), 21-2.
- I46. RT, 231-2; cf. Chapter VI.i., supra.

- I47. Marvell says of Cromwell that 'He first put Armes into Religions hand', in Poem Upon the Death of O.C., I79.
- I48. In Eandem, I. This poem is accepted as authentically Marvell's - not, as some thought, Milton's - see Margoliouth, I.319.
- I49. For Christina's fascination with Elizabeth, see Masson, 57; Whitlocke himself drew the parallel to flatter her (Masson, I95).
- I50. These details of her habits may be found in Masson, I67-8, 39-40, et passim.
- I51. The general influence of Virgil on Spenser is noted by Waters-Bennett, Evolution, II5-6; Cullen, as noted above, found a 'Golden-Age Eclogue' in Spenser's 'April' Eclogue. The prophetic aspects of FQ are discussed in Chapter V.ii, supra. Cf. also Chapter IX.i, below.
- I52. For a description of the manuscript and its contents, see Kelliher, 70. Marvell was later himself to visit Sweden, in the embassy of the Earl of Carlisle (I663-5): for which see ibid, 82-3.
- I53. He relates a scandalous story about Christina, in RT, I09; cf. 3I7.

Appendix III

- I. McQueen noted the ubiquity of antithesis in Marvell's Latin poetry, 4. The poet was a skilled Latinist, as his post of Latin Secretary attested. Aubrey, II.53 remarks that 'for Latin verses there was no man could come into competition with him'. It has been noted that Marvell has a fondness for the Latin epigram (Bain, 446-7), which involves a witty punch-line: I would indicate that this preference is due to his predilection for emphatic endings.
2. Bain discusses the antithesis of Bilboro, 445-6.
3. Bain, ibid.
4. For an account of the circumstances of the poem's composition see Margoliouth, I.308, and McQueen, 49n.
5. Cf. McQueen, 50n., citing First Anniversary, 258, as an analogous use of this idea.
6. McQueen, 50n.; Donno, Complete Poems, 244.
7. Margoliouth, I.308. Bain, 445, disagrees with all the editors, in his surprising claim that 'Oliver [is] for Oliver Cromwell, as indicative of war, and St.John for the apostle, as indicative of peace'. He provides no documentation for the latter suggestion. Moreover, he hereby flouts Marvell's own specific indication that the "last" name (St.John) is for war (9).
8. See, for example, Adams, Spiritual Navigator, Works, III. 38: 'The writings of St.John... are of three sorts. He teacheth in his Gospel especially faith; in his Epistles love; hope in his Revelation.' Cf. Sibbes, Bride, who calls the author of Rev. 'the Evangelist St.John', 4; Edith Simon, The Saints (Harmondsworth, I972), 33.
9. Cf. Chapter III.ii, supra; Chapter VI.vi, supra; and Chapter VII.ii, supra.
10. Cf. McQueen, 50n. St.John announces the wars of the desolating period, and overall the historical war against Antichrist.
- II. The gates of the Temple of Janus at Rome were opened in times of war, and closed in times of peace.
- I2. Inscribenda Luparae, II.
- I3. See Wind, 230; cf. Ovid, Fasti I.I25. Also cf. Wind, 202-3, 231.

- I4. Janus was a symbol of the "double" man, who could apprehend matters both spiritual and material: Wind, 20Iff.
- I5. Grosart, III.38, supplies this note: 'Popilius, the Roman ambassador, made a circle with his wand about Antiochus, and bid him give a determinate answer before he went out of it'. Cf. McQueen, 5In. Marvell alludes again to the same incident, General Councils, I59.

Chapter VIII

- I. Thus the moral drawn, for instance, by Wilkins, 6I: 'there are very many duties that depend upon a right understanding of the times'. Woodhouse discusses Puritan 'zeal' and the 'active' Puritan temper, 44-5. The Second Coming is an inspiration to zeal: see, e.g., Sibbes, Bride, I03-4.
2. See, e.g., Woodhouse, 4I-2. Cf. Burnet, Sacred Theory, 240.
3. References to the Putney Debates are all to the reprint of the Debates in Woodhouse, Puritanism and Liberty. Cf. Woodhouse, 42.
4. Walzer, 290.
5. Woodhouse, 8I.
6. Ibid, I9.
7. Ibid, 39. Cf. Milton, De Doctrina, IV.438: citing also Habak.ii.2, I Cor.x.II, Rev.i.I9.
8. Woodhouse, 20-2I.
9. Ibid, 2I.
10. Ibid, 8.
11. Ibid, 38-9.
12. E.g., Temple, 50, says the same thing.
13. Woodhouse, 68.
14. Cf. Wilkins, 66; Sibbes, Bride, 46-7. Cf. Chapter III.iii.
15. E.g. Wilkins, 92.
16. Cf. Chapter III.iii, supra.
17. Wilkins, 83-4, 92; cf. MS. Fairfax 40, 655.
18. E.g. Wilkins, 92-4.
19. Sonnet XIX, 'When I consider how my light is spent', I4.
20. Wilkins, 92.
21. Woodhouse, 4I-2.
22. Cf. Woodhouse, 83; Walzer, 298; Ball, I86-7.
23. Woodhouse, I36.
24. Ibid, 2.
25. Ibid, 40.
26. Ibid, 8.
27. See, e.g., Marshall, Reformation, 29. For the proper destruction preceding reconstruction of the State, see Walzer, I82.
28. Temple, 50.
29. Woodhouse, 40.
30. Edward Corbett, 'God's Providence' (1642), 28: quoted in Walzer, 258.
31. Woodhouse, 20.
32. See, e.g., Sibbes' use of this text to impress the lesson, Bride, 92.
33. Collier, 395-6.
34. See, e.g., Burnet, Sacred Theory, Dedication, 23I-2.
35. Sibbes, Bride, 3-4. Therefore, he concludes, the expectation of the Second Coming should be an inspiration to zeal (I03-4).
36. Wilkins, 76-7.
37. See, e.g., Hill, God's Englishman, 223.
38. Thus Sibbes, Bride, 94: 'let us labour to be fitted and prepared for that time [the Last Day].'

39. Cf. 2 Peter iii.10; I Thess. v.1-3; Rev.xvi.15.
40. Wilkins, 63-6.
41. Individuals certainly considered the relationship of their own life-spans to the Great Design: Hutchinson, e.g., provides a scenario of the Foxeian interpretation of history as a context for her own life (5-6). Similarly, Burnet associates his treatise on the final throes of the natural world with the fact that 'In [the] Universal Calamity... every man's particular concern must needs be involv'd' (Sacred Theory, 239).
42. The poem is dated by its publication in Lachrymae Musarum (1649), a volume of elegies by divers hands upon the death of Henry Hastings, son of Ferdinand Earl of Huntingdon, from smallpox on 24 June 1649, at the age of nineteen. (Cf. Margoliouth, I.240; Kelliher, 39.) Marvell's poem has little relevance to the intrinsic importance of Hastings: rather, Hastings as a skilled linguist and well-favoured young man presents an instance of a common phenomenon, that 'the good die young'. Thus Marvell has managed to express his own preoccupations within the format of a conventional elegy written rather as a commission than out of personal feeling: the same thing occurs in Milton's Lycidas, and is not uncommon with conventional elegies in this period. Dryden's elegy in the volume is much more specific about Hastings' valuable attributes, as well about the cause of death, etc. Legouis notes the royalism of the deceased's parent (Andrew Marvell, 13), and rightly sees the poem as an expression of royalist sympathies (14). The DNB entries on Hastings' family in this period evidence a largely royalist commitment, as well as developments of allegiance and religious concerns comparable to Marvell's own.
43. S.K.Heninger, Jr., 'Marvell's "Geometrick Yeer": A Topos for Occasional Poetry', Approaches to Marvell, ed. Patrides, 87-107.
44. Richard Crashaw, 'In the Glorious Epiphanie of our Lord God, a Hymn', 26-7.
45. Thomas Goodwin, The Trial, Works, III.463. Cf. Thomas Browne, A Letter to a Friend, Selected Writings, ed. Keynes, 105, where he states that the duration of a life should be computed by its virtue.
46. Thomas Goodwin, Brief History, 217.
47. For an account of critics' views, see The Poems of John Milton, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (1968), 410-11n.
48. E.G., 304, 312, et passim.
49. Sibbes, Bride, 101.
50. Areopagitica, Bohn edn., II.98.
51. Woodhouse, 136.
52. Letter to Edward Harley, 3 May 1673, Letters, 328.
53. Letter to the Hull Corporation, ibid, 166.
54. RT, 159-60. Marvell also asks, with a combination of asperity and humour and self-gratulation (after the reception of General Councils), 'Who would write?' (Letters, 346).
55. Marvell uses this classical motif for the purpose in his translation of Senec.Trad. ex. Thyeste Chor.2, reproduced in Margoliouth, I.58: 'All I seek is to lye still/ Settled in some secret Nest... And far of the publick Stage/ Passaway my silent Age' (3-7).
56. For such critical accounts, see, e.g., Hyman, 'Politics', 477; and his prefatory claim to his Andrew Marvell; Patterson, 16; Toliver's thesis, that in Marvell's poetry there is a constant concern with 'withdrawal' and 'emergence' (esp.88); George de.F.Lord, 'From Contemplation

- to Action: Marvell's Poetical Career', Andrew Marvell: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. G.de F.Lord (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), 55-73.
57. Cf. the sixth stanza of the poem: 'Things greater are in less contain'd.'
 58. Yates, 33-4.
 59. Scoular saw some resonance of the Virgin Mary in Maria, but does not see the Astraeian reason for this resemblance (Natural, 173).
 60. Cf. Chapter IV.ii, supra.
 61. See Galdon, III-I2.
 62. See Yates, 78-9.
 63. A suggestion made by Duncan-Jones (Margoliouth, I.292).
 64. Duncan-Jones (Margoliouth, I.291) rightly recognized a similarity between ll.657-64 of Marvell's poem and ll. 32, 64, and 229-30 of Milton's Ode, but does not offer any explanation of their similarity. She does not see the larger parallels, either.
 65. Cf. Chapter VII, note 9I.
 66. Fanshawe used resonances of the halcyon and of the Astraeian access of 'Peace' in his Ode of 1630, stanza 10; this is seconded by another reference, to an England where 'Turtles sang on ev'ry bough,/ A safe retreat to all that came' (12). The two halcyon/Peace references are identified as Astraeian by the linking stanza (11), where Astraea is said to have returned from 'her exile'. As in Marvell's two Revelatory Eclogues, the motif is given an eschatological context by reference to the Latter-Day wars (1), the Latter-Day Tragedy (2), Gustavus as Protestant Hero and the Thirty Years' War (4-5), oppressed Protestant Germany (5), the Antichristian menace from Turkey and Mohammedanism (7-8), all of which introduce the Astraeian return. As in Appleton House, the poem involves also that celebration of English retreat embodied in the Country-House poem. Thus, later in the poem, Fanshawe asserts of this second Augustan Pax under Charles I (20) that it may evoke another 'Virgill' (19): 'that shall not cease/ Th'Augustus of our world to praise/ In equall verse, author of peace/ And Halcyon dayes.' (20). One may compare also Dryden's Astraea Redux (1660), celebrating the Restoration of Charles II: Peace makes an early entrance (line 1), establishing the fundamental link with Dryden's quotation, on the title-page, of Virgil's 'Iam redit et Virgo...'. Charles II's restoration after exile is analogous to Astraea's return, and similarly re-establishes Peace and Justice after the Iron Age of Civil War and Interregnum: thus Charles is likened to the 'Prince of Peace' himself (139-40). Other symptoms of the motif are the 'Halcyon' (234-6), 'Justice' (266), 'Star' (288-91). Throughout the poem the counterpointing of iron and golden controls the narrative, culminating in 292f., which echo Virgil's 'saecula' reference in the Eclogue. These poems should be considered as Revelatory Eclogues as I defined the term.
 67. See, e.g., Burnet's use of the text to describe the final renovation or 'Restauration', 239: this is the 'dissolution by Fire; and the renovation of it out of a second Chaos' (240).
 68. See e.g., Ball, IIO-III; Marshall, Reformation, 27.
 69. Several of Virgil's Eclogues utilize this convention: e.g. I, II, VI, IX, X. Many beatus ille poems also adopt the convention, as Røstvig shows, Happy Man, I, passim. Milton adopts it from Virgil: Knott, 90f. Cf. Spenser's Calender, eclogues 5, 6, and 8.

70. For the computation of the Last Day by various contemporary commentators, see Ball, ch.3: 'Signs of the Times and the Time of the End'.
71. Areopagitica, Bohn edn., II.90.
72. A similar golden-age description of Elect England appears in Fanshawe's Ode: the 'Island' of Britain is 'A world without the world', 'one blest Isle' to which Astraea returns (9, II). Cf. Imogen's description of Britain in similar terms in Cymbeline, which links with the advent of Peace and renovation at the end of the play.
73. Cf. the fine literary-critical analysis of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue by Michael C.J. Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art: Studies in the "Eclogues" (Princeton, N.J., 1970): he rightly explains Virgil's 'sceleris... nostri' (IV.13) as referring to the sin of Civil War amongst the Romans (I43-4).
74. That corruption of Nature consequent upon the Fall of man is also lamented in The Mower Against Gardens, I-2: 'Luxurious Man, to bring his vice in use,/ Did after him the World seduce'.
75. D.C. Allen thinks that the rail 'is Charles I', to which Margoliouth ripostes 'To me the rail is just a rail' (Margoliouth, I.285).
76. As Legouis noted, Margoliouth, I.286, 'The name probably comes from Virgil's Thestylis, who, in Eclogues ii.II-12, brought garlic and wild thyme to the reapers.' There is another reminiscence (of Eclogue I.58) in l.526 (cf. Margoliouth, I.289).
77. RT, 246.
78. In the masque, the spectators become actors by joining in the the dance: the masque's action absorbs the audience into itself. Cf. Chapter IX.if., below.
79. A similar contrast is implied in On Mr. Milton, where the literal and irreverent 'Play' of a plagiarist is condemned, in contrast to the true "drama" of the 'vast Design' ('Might hence presume the whole Creations day/ To change in Scenes, and show it in a Play', 21-2).
80. Duncan-Jones noted the echo (Margoliouth, I.290), but did not elaborate.
81. An Apology For Smectymnuus (1642), Columbia edn., III.343.
82. Duncan-Jones noted the same Miltonic origin of this phrase (Margoliouth, I.292), but, again, does not elaborate.
83. For instance, D.C. Allen understands the 'Prelate' image to mean that 'To live in a holy place [the wood] is to become holy' (I43); Scouler, Natural, I83, takes it to be a positive use of the common metaphor of 'the rustic chapel' and concludes that 'The poet is less of a Christian contemplator than some druid or priest of nature' (I86), and that 'The poet has been engaged in serious meditation' throughout the wood section (I87). Bush, blithely pursuing his usual misreading of Marvell's religious attitudes, also takes the image to be positive (I61). Cf. also the approaches taken by Røstvig and Bradbrook (opa. cit.) to the poem, which are characteristic of this sort of comment on Marvell.
84. See, e.g., M.C. Bradbrook, 'Marvell and the Poetry of Rural Solitude', RES XVII, 65 (1941), 37-46; Summers, Heirs, I33.
85. Annabel Patterson issued this salutary corrective in Marvell and the Civic Crown, I07n., arguing especially with Bradbrook.
86. Wilkins, 61.
87. One may recall, here, both the intense activity of the

- Mowers, and their 'wholesome Heat' (LIV).
88. William Empson, Some Versions of Pastoral: A Study of the Pastoral Form in Literature (Harmondsworth, 1966), 102.
 89. Scoular, Natural, 171. She sees this as 'an act of voluntary humility, not unmixed with amusement': viz. the sort of explanation that has so perplexed the poem in the last twenty years.
 90. Without recognizing these more significant inversions, or their meaning in the poem, Wallace recognized that Maria now is Marvell's master of languages, 255.
 91. For this stanza D.C.Allen uses Marvell's Bilboro as a gloss, for the notion of trees as 'pedigree', and as implements of war.
 92. E.g. Deut. xx.19; Isa. lvi.3; Matt. vii.17, etc. On Marvell's image, in st. LXXI, of himself as an 'Inverted Tree', see the history of the idea provided by A.B. Chambers, '"I was but an Inverted Tree": Notes toward the History of an Idea', Studies in the Renaissance, 8 (1961), 291-9; again, this image is too seriously understood.
 93. Cf. Death of O.C., 261ff.
 94. See Margoliouth, I.288 (citing Davison and Wallerstein): the lines are from La Solitude, 6-10.
 95. Cf. Chapter V.iii, supra, and the notes thereto.
 96. Wilkins, 34; cf. Chapter VI, note 8, supra.
 97. Cf. st. XIII and st. XXVI; where the nuns 'though in prison yet inchant! / Death only can such Theeves make fast, / As rob though in the Dungeon cast.'
 98. C.H.Herford, quoted by Rand, 132.
 99. Sibbes, Bride, emphasizes in orthodox manner the comfort and consolation provided by God to man in the form of Revelation (I-2).
 100. Fixler, 16.
 101. Cf. Edith Simon, 34: 'John encompassed [the] ultimate reconciliation of material disaster with spiritual triumph.'

Appendix IV

1. Bodleian MS. Fairfax 40, 647; the 'Egloge' extends from 647 to 656 in the manuscript-book. The author, Edward Fairfax, was the son of the first Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, and died in 1635. He was the translator of Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata, pub. 1600. Apparently his twelve Eclogues were written in the first year of James' reign, and 'lay neglected in the author's study for ten years', after which a transcript was made; the Fairfax family possessed a manuscript of these. Edward Fairfax was an Anglican. (See DNB, VI.995-6).
2. MS Fairfax 40, 647. Evidently the Eclogue owes a great deal to Spenser's religious Eclogues in the Shepheardes Calender; perhaps the naïve verse also originates in Spenser's supposedly rustic-archaic diction there.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.; here, too, Spenser provides the background to the nomenclature chosen for the Scarlet Whore. See Shepheardes Calender, Ecl.3, 'March', gloss to l.16 by 'E.K.': ' / [Flora] the Goddess of flowres, but indede [rather] (as saith Tacitus) a famous harlot, which with the abuse of her body hauing gotten great riches, made the people of Rome her heyre: who in remembrance of so great beneficence, appointed a yearely feste for the memoriall of her'. Hence Romanness, whoredom, and Flora.

5. MS. Fairfax 40, 649. Cf. Chapter V, note 40, supra.
6. Ibid, 647.
7. The paraphrase proper begins on 649 of the MS.
8. Ibid, 650.
9. Ibid, 651.
10. Ibid, 654.
11. Ibid, 649.
12. Ibid, 654.
13. Ibid, 652.
14. Ibid, 652-3. Cf. Geneva Bible gloss on Rev.xiv.I4.
15. Ibid, 655.
16. Ibid, 655-6.
17. Ibid, 656.

Appendix V

1. E.g. Legouis, Andrew Marvell, 49; Kermode, Selected Poetry, xix.
2. Cf. Damon the Mower, 88: 'Death thou art a Mower too'. For Christ the Desolating Mower - the last one - see esp. Mede's comment on Rev.xiv.I4, who emphasizes that the reaper here is Christ (II.I02); Geneva Bible (1599) states on this text that the harvest is the Latter-Day desolation, evoked 'by reason of the rage of that sickle which Antichrist calleth for'.
3. Most critics have recognized a 'fall' of some sort here. See, e.g., Roth, 279. Cf. also the 'Grasses fall' in The Mower to the Glowworms (ii), and the reference to the Fall in the first couplet of The Mower Against Gardens.
4. Cf. Chapter VII.ii, supra.
5. Thomas Browne, The Garden of Cyrus, Dedicatory Epistle, Selected Writings, ed. Keynes, 161.
6. 'She my Mind hath so displac'd/ That I shall never find my home.' (iv). For the sense of 'home' as Heaven, cf. Herbert's poem, 'Home'.
7. Cf. also i-iv of Damon (an "internal" version of the Latter-Day desolatio), and esp. l.20: she 'burns the Fields and Mower both'.
8. Cf. The Mower to the Glowworms, 'She my Mind hath so displac'd' (iv). Both in Mowers Song and Damon, the mental disorder caused by Juliana also involves the loss of spiritual hope: Mowers Song (i); Damon (i), 'wither'd like his Hopes the Grass'.
9. See, for instance, V.de Sola Pinto and A.E.Rodway (eds.), The Common Muse (Harmondsworth, n.d.), e.g. nos. 99 and 100, both from the Sixteenth Century.
10. See The Penguin Dictionary of Historical Slang, 596. This meaning seems to have slipped the net of the OED.
11. Richard Sibbes, Light From Heaven, 253-5: 'First, there is... a division from God;... Then there is a separation between the good Angels and us... Then there is a division, and skattering between man, and man:... and then there is a division, and separation between a man and the creature... And they have no peace with themselves [either].'
12. Ibid, 255.
13. George Herbert, 'Home', 55-8.
14. That the Rev. harvest is at once a desolation for revenge/ vengeance (like the Mower's here), and also a renovatory exercise, Mede, II.99 makes clear: 'The name of Harvest comprehendeth three things: the cutting downe of corne, the gathering it, and the threshing it. Whence it

cometh to passe that it frameth a two-fold parable in holy Writ, and of contrary sense; one while of slaughter and destruction, as it were of cutting downe and threshing; another while of restoring and safetie, according to the property of gathering.' The motif desolatio ut renovatio thus conflates the two.

15. Cf. Mede, II.I02.

Chapter IX.

1. Wallace, II0, notes this fact in relation to First Anniversary.
2. The friendship between Marvell and Harrington is recorded by Aubrey, 'Life of Harrington', Brief Lives, I.293; cf. II.54, where he describes Harrington as Marvell's 'intimate friend'. The enigmatic connexion between Marvell and Harrington's Rota Club is discussed by Kelliher, 77.
3. See, for example, GP, 294; and the tract's long appendix on shipping.
4. See Josephine Waters-Bennett, 'Britain Among the Fortunate Isles', SP 53 (1956), II4-40: who discusses some of the sources and features of this idea.
5. Pliny, Naturalis Historia, IV.xxii; the translation is from the Loeb edn., II.II9.
6. See, for example, DeWitt T. Starnes and E.W. Talbert, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1955), I60ff. For other descriptions of the Fortunate Isles, see e.g. Lucian's parody (Works, Loeb edn. (1913), I, Verae Historiae, I.247-357, which also parodies the New Jerusalem); Sir Thomas North's Translation of Plutarch's Lives, 8 vols. (Oxford, 1928), IV.369-70 (Marvell was familiar with this example, since he echoes North's 'Sertorius' (the location) in his Nymph - an echo spotted by Muir, II5, commenting on the latter poem); Edward Fairfax's translation of Tasso, Godfrey of Bulloigne (1600), xv.35-6, xvi.II; cf. also Pliny, Naturalis, VI.xxxvii, on the location of the Fortunate Isles in the Canaries.
7. See Starnes, I59-6I, 309-33I; esp. 3IO-II.
8. Starnes (ibid) gives detailed discussion of Milton's use of such motifs.
9. Pliny, Naturalis, II.xcvi (Loeb edn., I.209).
10. Starnes, I60-6I.
11. Johnathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels (Harmondsworth, 1967), I98-200; 'The word, which I interpret the Flying or Floating Island, is in the original Laputa' (203).
12. Starnes, I6I. Waters-Bennett, 'Britain', also refers to the influence of Comes, I24.
13. Starnes, I59-6I, 309-33I.
14. Ibid, 309, 3II.
15. Waters-Bennett, 'Britain', II7.
16. Ibid, II4, II8-9, I24, I39.
17. Ibid, I28-9.
18. Ibid, I3I.
19. Cf. also Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong (eds.), Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1973), 7I.
20. Margoliouth, II.369.
21. Cf. Orgel and Strong on Neptune's significance in England, 54; 7I.
22. See the confused remarks in Margoliouth, I.366, for example.
23. See Margoliouth, I.400-40I on the poem's authorship.
24. For Raleigh as a Protestant hero, see Breslow, 46-7, who

- also notes the use of Raleigh by Protestant writers at various dates as 'England's Forewarner' against Papist conspiracies (47). Patrides, Grand Design, 81f., notes the influence of, and veneration for, Raleigh's History of the World (1614) throughout the century. Cf. also Whiting, 39, who notes also that this was 'Cromwell's favorite book'. Cf. Webster, 2-3.
25. See Ovid, Metamorphoses, XV for the assumption of Julius Caesar into the heavens. Cf. Aeneid VII.785ff.
 26. For Leviathan as Antichrist, see John Block Friedman, II8; this identification was the result of a conflation of Job xl.20 and the Beast from the Sea in Rev. xiii.
 27. Ben Jonson, The Fortunate Isles, and their Union; Celebrated in a Masque Design'd for the Court on the Twelfth Night, 1626, Works (1716), VI.54-75. The masque was designed by Inigo Jones.
 28. Ibid, 68. Cf. Allan H. Gilbert, The Symbolic Persons in the Masques of Ben Jonson (New York, 1969), 38, 169.
 29. Ibid, 68-9.
 30. Ibid.
 31. Ibid, 68.
 32. Ibid, 69.
 33. Starnes, 161.
 34. Jonson, Fortunate, 69.
 35. Ibid, 70.
 36. Cf. Stephen Orgel, The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance (Berkeley and London, 1975), 75.
 37. Jonson, Fortunate, 72, 73.
 38. Ibid, 74.
 39. Ibid.
 40. Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion (1623), Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones. Cf. Orgel, Illusion, 70ff.
 41. See Orgel's account of the imagery of Jones' design (with the plates thereto), ibid, 73-4.
 42. Ibid, 72-3.
 43. As Orgel notes, ibid, 73: 'The association of James's pacifism with the peace of God, and of his capital with the holy city, formed an important part of Jacobean official imagery from the very beginning of the reign.'
 44. Ibid, 75.
 45. Temple, 22. The source for this 'Isles' motif, which he is quoting, is Psalm xci.I.
 46. A pertinent e.g. is Thomas Fairfax's poem, The Christian War-fare, MS. Fairfax 40, 583ff.: which uses, passim, the traditional metaphor of the Ship of the Soul. Cf. e.g. Donne, 'A Hymne to Christ, at the authors last going into Germany', st.i; Browne, Letter to a Friend, Selected Writings, ed. Keynes, 106; Herbert, 'Miserie', 76-7; Roger Edgeworth, Of Idolls and Images (1557), repr. in Chandos, 5.
 47. Sig. A3-A3v.
 48. Adams, Spiritual Navigator, II; cf. Nixon, sig. A3v. For other examples of the Sea as an emblem of the world, see Kathleen Williams, 'Spenser: Some Uses of the Sea and the Storm-tossed Ship', Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama, XIII-IV (1970-71), 135-42. esp. 140. Many examples can be found in such collections as Quarles' Emblems and Ripa's Iconologia.
 49. Robert Purnell, quoted in Ball, 92.
 50. See, for instance, Plutarch's Lives, 'Caesar', xxiv (Loeb edn., 1919, VII.527); Horace, Odes, I.14: for the allegory of which see Nisbet and Hubbard, Commentary, 179.

51. Walzer, 179-82. For an example of the kind of political rhetoric involved, see Col. Rainborough's animadversion on the topic during the Putney Debates (Woodhouse, 33); Marshall, Song of Moses, 37.
52. Marvell's use of the Ship of State metaphor here has been discussed by John M. Wallace, 'Marvell's "lusty Mate" and the Ship of the Commonwealth', MLN 76 (1961), 106-110.
53. Collier, 395-6; cf. Sprigge's remarks, also in Woodhouse, 134-5.
54. Temple, sig. A3-A3v: his topic being 'Christ's Government' (cf. also 49).
55. Cf. Herbert, 'Affliction (v)', 2-6, for a contemporary example.
56. Herbert, 'The Church Militant': see esp. 259-60, 275-7: 'Yet as the Church shall thither westward flie,/ So Sinne shall trace and dog her instantly... the Church by going west/ ... drew more neare/ To time and place, where judgement shall appeare.' It owes something to the flight of the Woman Clothed with the Sun from persecution in the Rev.
57. See, e.g., Marshall, Song of Moses, 43: Parliament must 'sink and swim with the Church'. For the absolute interinvolvement of Church and State cf. also Temple, 23-4; Walzer, 179-80.
58. Temple, 49.
59. 'A Vindication of the Late Vow and Covenant' (1643), 12: cited in Whiting, 229.
60. This imagery is taken directly from Revelation itself: in xvii.1 is 'the great whore that sitteth upon many waters' and 'The waters... are peoples, and multitudes, and nations' (xvii.15). They were taken literally as such: e.g. Mayer, 483; Bernard, 158.
61. For an account of the interpenetration of Utopianism and Puritan millenarianism or chiliasm, see A.L. Morton, The English Utopia (1978); ch.3, 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution', discusses the Seventeenth Century in particular; 95-7 put Macaria - and Harrington's Oceana - in the context of such Utopianism. Cf. also Woodhouse, 47-8.
62. The topic of Puritan reformist science is treated in detail by Webster, op.cit. See esp. xvi; the text from Daniel was xii.4 (cf. Webster, 2).
63. Webster, 16.
64. Tuveson, 87-90; Walzer, 297-8.
65. Thomas, 'Two Cultures?', 191. Webster, ch.1, gives an extended account of Bacon's influence. Cf. Woodhouse, 47.
66. Francis Bacon, New Atlantis (1626), Works, 14 vols., ed. J. Spedding, R.L. Ellis, D.D. Heath (London, 1857-74), III. 129-66.
67. Temple, 14.
68. Morton discusses the influence of this work, extending even to the ideals of the Royal Society, 80-86.
69. Cf. Orgel, Illusion, 73.
70. For discussion of Hartlib's reforming activities, see Morton, 92, 95-7, 86; Woodhouse, 48; Toon, 62, records Mede's influence upon Hartlib. For more extended treatment of Hartlib and other reforming "scientists", see Nell P. Eurich, Science In Utopia: A Mighty Design (Camb., Mass., 1967). Hartlib's exposition of Rev. (probably merely masquerading as a "translation" of someone else's) was Clavis Apocalyptica (1651). For an asseveration of the renovatory character of Puritan science, see e.g. his 'To the Reader', Husbandman, sig.

- A2.
71. Hartlib, Macaria, Preface, sig. A2.
 72. Ibid, 2.
 73. Ibid, 5.
 74. Ibid, 4.
 75. Ibid, 7, 5.
 76. Ibid, 5.
 77. Ibid, 12.
 78. Ibid, 15.
 79. Ibid, 9.
 80. Ibid.
 81. Thomas Blenerhasset, 'Revelation of the True Minerva' (1582), quoted by Waters-Bennett, 'Britain', 124; cf. 116.
 82. Bacon, Advancement, 79-80.
 83. Ibid, 80.
 84. Ball, 108-9 and n.; Woodhouse, 45-6; Browne, Hydriotaphia, ed. Keynes, 119.
 85. Yates, 23; 54.
 86. Ibid, 50.
 87. Ibid, 49-50.
 88. Breslow, 3.
 89. Ibid, 139. Cf. Chapter II.i, supra.
 90. Temple, 31. Cf. Ball, 106.
 91. Toon, 46; Breslow, 55.
 92. Breslow, 73f. Cf. also Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', passim.
 93. Breslow, 50; 73.
 94. Ibid, 50.
 95. L.B. Wright, Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion 1558-1625 (Chapel Hill, 1943), 156.
 96. Ibid, 151.
 97. Ibid, 118-9.
 98. Samuel Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus; or, Purchas His Pilgrimes, 20 vols. (Glasgow, 1905-7), XIX.249. Cf. Wright, 128.
 99. Breslow, 56.
 100. Purchas, XIX.249f.; Wright, 128.
 101. Wright, 112-4; cf. Purchas, XIX, 'Virginia's Verger', 260; 266.
 102. Hughes, A Letter, sent into England from the Summer Islands (1615), quoted in Wright, 113. Cf. Alexander Whitaker, Good Newes From Virginia (1613), Epistle Dedicatorie by William Crashaw, sig. A3v., B; and 21.
 103. Purchas, XIX, 'Virginia's Verger', 239; 260.
 104. Ibid, 229; cf. Wright, 106; William Symonds, Virginia: Virginea Britannia (1609), Epistle Dedicatorie, sig. A3v.
 105. The phrase is Wright's: his fourth chapter on the topic is 'A Western Canaan Reserved For England'.
 106. Wright, 91. Cf. Symonds, 9; Purchas, XIX.267.
 107. Purchas, XIX.237.
 108. This is Wright's thesis on the topic: see esp. his introduction, v.
 109. Purchas, Dedication to Prince Charles; Wright, 132.
 110. See the discussions of this belief in Walzer, 232; Toon, 36; Wright, 157; Webster, 36-40, demonstrates the part played by Puritan divines and academics in the promulgation of this idea. E.g.'s of the pamphlet literature, apart from those cited supra, are Robert Johnson, Nova Britannia. Offring Most Excellent fruites by Planting in Virginia (1609); John Smith, The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John

- Smith, repr. in Works, 2 vols, ed. Edward Arber (1895). The motives and character of New England theocracy are discussed by Simpson and by Perry Miller, Errand. Cf. Herbert, 'Church Militant', 247; Hartlib, Macaria, 5.
- III. E.g. Hyman, Andrew Marvell, 102; Wallace, Destiny, 141 calls it 'a failure'.
- II2. Hyman and Wallace both take this view, and Wallace in particular considers the poem insubstantial (142).
- II3. Breslow, 56.
- II4. Margoliouth, I.329.
- II5. Wallace, Destiny, 142.
- II6. Wallace recognized the connexion between this poem and the offer to Cromwell of the Crown (142), but he thinks that is the sole subject of the poem.
- II7. See, e.g., Wallace, Destiny, 142.
- II8. Hyman, Andrew Marvell, 102.
- II9. Cf. the similar implications of Herbert's remark on the New World in 'Church Militant' (247-51), the pith of which is that 'gold and grace did never yet agree'. That notion is a common one in pastoral, and in classical ideas of the 'Golden Age' in particular: that age actually involves the exclusion of material gold, as Ovidian and other accounts of it make clear.
- I20. Pliny, Naturalis, VI.xxxvii.
- I21. Wallace, Destiny, 142, also recognizes a recollection of the Armada in ll.9-10 of the poem.
- I22. See, for instance, Margoliouth I.245-6.
- I23. The article that appears to have stimulated such views is the brief and somewhat perfunctory exposition of Rosalie L.Colie, 'Marvell's "Bermudas" and the Puritan Paradise', Renaissance News X (1957), 75-9. Articles providing variations on and developments of her views are Toshihiko Kawasaki, 'Marvell's "Bermudas" - A Little World, or a New World?', ELH 43 (1976), 38-52; Annabel Patterson, '"Bermudas" and "The Coronet": Marvell's Protestant Poetics', ELH 44 (1977), 478-99, who considers that these poems reflect Protestant views on literary aesthetics (from psalms, etc.); Summers, 'Some Apocalyptic Strains', gave a brief discussion of this poem which is generally similar to Colie's (199-201); Bruce King, Marvell's Allegorical Poetry, 39-46, gives the poem his heavily scriptural approach, with confusing results.
- I24. Such views are represented by Tay Fildale, 'Irony in Marvell's "Bermudas"', ELH 42 (1975), 203-213; and R.M.Cummings, 'The Difficulty of Marvell's "Bermudas"', MP 67 (1970), 331-40. Philip Brockbank, 'The Politics of Paradise: "Bermudas"', Approaches to Marvell, ed. Patrides, 174-93, gives an account of modified ironies in the poem.
- I25. For various seventeenth-century accounts of voyages to, and the features of, the islands, the best compilation is Purchas, XIX.ix, esp. chs. xvi-xx. Some interesting commentary on these tracts is provided by Frank Kermode, (ed.), The Arden Shakespeare: The Tempest (1964), Introduction. The most interesting of the tracts are Lewis Hughes, A Letter (1615) and A Plaine and True Relation of the Goodnes of God towards the Sommer Ilands (1621); William Strachey, The True Repertory of the Wracke (1610).
- I26. Cummings and Brockbank both remark on these dissensions at some length; cf. Hunt, II7. As early as 1610, Strachey

- is recording disagreements, mutiny, and an execution.
- I27. Sibbes, Bride, 3.
- I28. Cf. the discussion of this renovatory union in Chapter VII.ii, supra. Cf. e.g. Tertullian, 'Adversus Marcionem', iii.24, cit. in The Early Christian Fathers, ed. and tr. H. Bettenson, 164. Marvell was familiar with Tertullian: see General Councils, 149. Cf. also Fixler, 17; Rev. xi. 15; Temple, 4-5.
- I29. Jeremy Taylor, 268.
- I30. E.g. Berthoff, 55, assumes that they have already landed; Brockbank that they have not, 189; Summers, 200, says that they have lived in the islands for some time already and 'know them well'. Ironical readings of the poem tend to make much of the confusion.
- I31. Cf. First Anniversary, where Marvell provides a complicated conceit whereby the English Fleet 'sink the Earth that does at Anchor ride' (364).
- I32. One of many remarks on their flatness is that of the novelist Anthony Trollope, The West Indies and the Spanish Main (1968), 375.
- I33. Cf. Rev. xxi.10; Edward Fairfax, Eglogue, MS Fairfax 40, 655; Marshall, Reformation, 44 (the Last Day is when Christ will 'bow the heavens'). Cf. Tertullian, 'Adversus', 164.
- I34. Beard, 2.
- I35. MS Fairfax 40, 536.
- I36. For the liturgical and exegetical relationship between the Leviathan of Isaiah xxvii.I and the Beast from the Sea in Revelation, see Tuve, 63 and n.; she notes that the consequent reference in Isaiah to the Second Coming also specifically invokes the advent of Justice. For these sea-monsters, Patterson, '"Bermudas"', cites Psalms lxxiv.I4, without bringing to bear its true meaning, or the fact that this Psalms is in fact an example of that exegetical relationship that I have just described.
- I37. Adams, Spiritual Navigator, 24.
- I38. E.g. Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, 65.
- I39. Adams, Spiritual Navigator, 25: he identifies this Leviathan with the Red Dragon of Rev. xii.
- I40. Adams, Blacke Devill, 32; Strachey, Purchas, 15 provides the "Bermudan" or literal level of this statement, remarking that 'These Ilands are often afflict'd and rent with tempests, great strokes of thunder, lightning and raine in the extremity of violence'.
- I41. Beard, 'Preface', sig. A4. For 'stern' here see OED, I.
- I42. Thus Wilkins, 52, cites this text as the definition of God's providence. Cf. Browne, Religio, I.17: God's secret work of Providence is a 'way full of meanders and Labyrinths', a maze.
- I43. Pliny, Naturalis, I.235-7, in Whiting, 81; to which the latter compares Milton, PL VII.412-16.
- I44. Starnes, 309-312 treat the identification of Hesperides and Fortunate Isles in Renaissance literature.
- I45. Ibid, 309.
- I46. Hughes, quoted in Wright, 114; cf. Strachey, Purchas, 17; Trollope, 368.
- I47. Wright, 113.
- I48. Purchas, 'Virginia's Verger', 257.
- I49. Matthew Henry, Acts to Revelation, 538, glossing Rev. xxi. 9f. on the New Jerusalem: 'The wall for security. Heaven is a safe state... secure(d)... from all evils and enemies.'

- I50. Adams, Spiritual Navigator, 23; 24.
- I51. Strachey, Purchas, I7 remarks that if it had not 'pleased God to bring us, wee had not come one man of us else a shoare', and similar remarks can be found in the other tracts.
- I52. Trollope, 368.
- I53. Milton, De Doctrina, IV.479.
- I54. Adams, Spiritual Navigator, 8-9.
- I55. Ibid, 9-10.
- I56. Purchas, XIX.ix.xvi.I73.
- I57. Rev. iv.I0-II; v.9-I0; vii.I0.
- I58. Comes' Mythologiae, quoted in Starnes, 3II.
- I59. See esp. Adams, Spiritual Navigator, 23.
- I60. Burnet, Sacred Theory, III.239; George Smith, England's Pressures: Or, The Peoples Complaint (I645), quoted in Whiting, 229.
- I61. Temple, I5.
- I62. Hutchinson, 5; but it is a common metaphor.
- I63. Ibid.
- I64. Starnes, 3II. Cf. Milton, PL X.678-9. The ver aeternam was a typical constituent of the Golden Age: see e.g. Ovid, Metamorphoses, I.I07. See also Upton's note, Variorum Spenser, 258, on FQ III.vi.42; to which, for eschatological and Fortunate Isle motifs, should be compared Tasso, Gerusalemme, tr. Fairfax, 54.
- I65. Geneva Bible (I560), gloss on Rev. xxi.II.
- I66. See OED I.4 and 2.Ic.
- I67. Mirelli Levi D'Ancona, The Garden of the Renaissance: Botanical Symbolism in Italian Painting (Florence, I977). 3I5. King, Marvell's Allegorical Poetry, 43, notes that the pomegranate is 'among the fruits of the Promised Land, and is a common symbol for the Church': the point is that it symbolizes esp. Church unity. Cf. Exodus xxviii. 33 and 2 Chron. iii.I6.
- I68. Commenting on its use in Appleton House, LXIII-IV, Scouler, Natural, I82, the ubiquity of the motif in contemporary poetry.
- I69. Bacon, New Atlantis, I32.
- I70. Ibid, I34.
- I71. Ibid: his sailors are battered by tempest, rescued by Providence (I29), and landed on the "New Jerusalem" island of New Atlantis, 'this happy island' (I39). It, too, has remained 'unrevealed' for many ages, 'a land unknown' (I39) and 'remote' (I39), like Marvell's Bermudas. The "New Jerusalem" resonances are constant and insistent in Bacon's piece, including a comparison of the mariners to Jonah regurgitated, and the remark that in the New Atlantis they 'are beyond both the old world and the new' (I34); cf. also I33, I36, I58: where the New Atlantis is said to possess 'Water of Paradise'.
- I72. Margoliouth, I.246; Hyman, Andrew Marvell, 40; Rainbow, 26 all reflect on this point, with varying degrees of confusion.
- I73. A full exposition of the tradition of the three Trees, including many iconographical examples, is given by Stanley Stewart, The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth-century Poetry (Milwaukee and London, I966).
- I74. More, Account of Voyage, and 'Articles which Master R. More More, Governour Deputie of the Sommer Ilands, propounded to the Company that were there with him... I6I2, repr. Purchas, XIX.ix. xvi.I72ff.: the latter propounds 'godly' colonization.

- I75. More, Purchas, I74; cf. Strachey, ibid, 22-3.
 I76. Ibid, I75.
 I77. Ibid, I74.
 I78. Ibid, I74; Strachey, Purchas, I8; Trollope, 372.
 I79. I Kings v.6
 I80. Temple, 44.
 I81. See Lewalski, 'Typology', 45-6. The internal 'walled' temple is that propounded to Parliament by Thomas Wilson, Jerichoes Down-Fall (London, 1643), 36: 'prepare God an habitation...'
 I82. Jeremy Taylor, 268.
 I83. More, Purchas, I76.
 I84. Pliny, Naturalis, VI.xxxvii. Brockbank, I84, noted this
 I85 source for the line, but he gives it a derogatory implication.
 I85. More, Purchas, I76: cf. Strachey, Purchas, I7.
 I86. See the various explanations proffered by, e.g., E.B. Benjamin, 'Marvell's "Bermudas"', CEA Critic 29 (1967), IO-I2, I2; Toliver, IO2-3; Fitzdale, 2IO, reads it ironically.
 I87. Sibbes, Bride, 20. Cf. Charles Herle, Davids Song of Three Parts (1643), where, explicating the paradisaical Psalm xcv.I, he explains the spiritual Canaan of rest which is here greeted by a song of praise on entry, and continues: 'there we shall always delight to see, and seeing to love, and loving to praise, and praising to sing, and singing to praise and so backe againe:' (I5). This was a Fast Sermon to Parliament.
 I88. Colie, 'Marvell's "Bermudas"', 78.
 I89. Temple, 46.
 I90. Breslow, 60.
 I91. Fitzdale, 2IO, reads it ironically.
 I92. Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, 65.
 I93. Temple, 36-8.
 I94. Ibid, 48.

Chapter X

- I. Summers, Selected Poems, I5.
2. Peter T. Schwenger, 'Marvell's "Unfortunate Lover" as Device', MLQ 35 (1974), 364-75, 364; James Reeves and Martin Seymour-Smith, in their selected edition of Marvell's poems, find it 'strange...[and] obscure' (I66); Maren-Sophie Røstvig, '"In Ordine di Ruota"', 250, remarks its 'riddling quality'.
3. Donno, Complete Poems, 229; Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, 29; Schwenger takes the Lover to be homosexual, and thus frustrated by a 'forbidden' love, 370, and finds that the poem 'fuses both emblematic and armorial elements' (364). Anne E. Berthoff, 'The Voice of Allegory: Marvell's "The Unfortunate Lover"', MLQ 27 (1966), 4I-50, 42, suggests that 'The poem is a continued metaphor by which is figured the necessary suffering of the time-bound Soul, the Lover in his world of sacrifice'; she, too, finds it 'emblematic' (42). Røstvig, '"In Ordine"', 245, says that the poem is about 'the irresistible power of love.'
4. Hunt, 62-3.
5. Schwenger, 368; cf. note 3, supra.
6. E.g. Colie, My Ecchoing Song, is the most thoroughgoing in that approach; for her cfs. to Otto Van Veen's, Herman Hugo's, and Quarles' Emblems, see esp. II0-I2. Cf. also

- Friedman, 41; Donno, Complete Poems, 229; Røstvig, '"In Ordine"', compares Marvell's poem to Giordano Bruno's "emblematic" sonnet-sequence, Heroic Frenzies, as a Lover's "biography".
7. Reported by Bradbrook and Lloyd-Thomas, 29n.; Legouis, 32n., dismisses this interpretation and states that Syfret herself had abandoned it.
 8. Annabel Patterson, Marvell and the Civic Crown, 20-25.
 9. Margoliouth, I.256, and Donno, Complete Poems, 229, concur in dating the poem by means of a reference in l.57 to Lovelace's 'Dialogue - Lucasta, Alexis', which appeared in the volume to which Marvell contributed his commendatory verses.
 10. E.E.Duncan-Jones, 'A Reading of Marvell's "The Unfortunate Lover"', I.A.Richards: Essays in His Honour, ed. Reuben Brower, Helen Vendler and John Hollander (New York, 1973), 213-26, 225.
 11. Reeves and Seymour-Smith, Selected Poems, 166, remark that it 'was probably written for an exclusive literary group' because of its enigmatic assurance.
 12. Cf. Chapter III.ii-iii, supra. For Marvell's courtly circle at this time, cf. Burdon, 17-18; Kelliher, 32-4.
 13. Cf. note 9, supra.
 14. Schwenger, 373, citing and rejecting such derogation, for different reasons.
 15. Apart from Marvell's references to masque-techniques in Appleton House, which imply some familiarity with masques on his part, Marvell moved in a circle with access to the Inns (cf. note 12, supra), where masques were sometimes performed. In May, 37-8, he alludes to an incident which took place at a masque at the Inns of Court (1633/4), when May was assaulted by the Lord Chamberlain. For an account of the incident, see Margoliouth, I.305.
 16. Beard, 4, notes that 'they are set aloft as it were upon a stage, to be gazed at of euery commer'. Cf. Orgel, Illusion, 42-3.
 17. Orgel and Strong, 7, 52.
 18. Orgel, Illusion, 77-9.
 19. Orgel, Illusion, 79.
 20. Ibid, 38.
 21. Ibid, 40, et passim.
 22. Ibid, 88; Thomas, 'Two Cultures?', 175, 182.
 23. Orgel, Illusion, 44-5; cf. Thomas' account of the Prynne controversy, 'Two Cultures?', 177f. More detailed discussion of the complex of Puritan attitudes is given in Sasek, op. cit.
 24. Thomas, 'Two Cultures?', 175.
 25. Ibid, 185.
 26. Orgel, Illusion, 44.
 27. Ibid, 80.
 28. Ibid, 40, 43: they were 'ideals made apprehensible'.
 29. Ibid, 79-83.
 30. It is pertinent to note, here, that Orgel (ibid, 42) observes that the Renaissance's theatrical metaphor for princes included 'the notion of the ruler as an exemplary figure'.
 31. Colie, Ecchoing Song, 110.
 32. Orgel, Illusion, 24-5: 'the verbal was inseparable from the visual' in the masques.
 33. Ibid, 43.
 34. Duncan-Jones, 'A Reading', 224; Hunt, 62, finds it 'grotesque and hilarious'; Legouis, Andrew Marvell, 32, says 'Raillery, if it exists, is tinged with sympathy, and we

- even think that sympathy predominates', despite the 'grotesque verve' of the poem.
35. Orgel, Illusion, 72-3.
 36. Orgel and Strong, 52.
 37. Ibid, 54.
 38. Ibid, 54-6.
 39. Love's Triumph Through Callipolis (1631), Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, repr. in Orgel and Strong, 405-7; ll. 99-101 (406).
 40. Love's Triumph, ll. 30-33.
 41. Ibid, ll. 34-43.
 42. Ibid, l. 92; editors' comment, 407; and cf. 54.
 43. Orgel and Strong, 56.
 44. Cf. Orgel and Strong's account of sea-imagery in the masques, 54.
 45. By Davenant and Inigo Jones, repr. in Orgel and Strong, 730-34.
 46. Cf. the comments of Orgel and Strong, 72.
 47. Orgel, Illusion, 21.
 48. Orgel and Strong, 73.
 49. Salmacida, ll. 22-68.
 50. Ibid, ll. 107-110.
 51. Ibid, ll. 1-4.
 52. Ibid, ll. 132-41: 'How am I grieved the world should everywhere/ Be vexed into a Storm, save only here!/ Thou over-lucky, too-much-happy isle,/... thy long health can never altered be/ But by thy surfeits on felicity./ And I to stir the humours that increase/ In thy full body, overgrown with peace,/ Will call those Furies hither who incense/ The guilty and disorder innocence.'
 53. Ibid, ll. 8, 13-15.
 54. Ibid, ll. 18-21.
 55. Cf. Orgel and Strong, 72.
 56. Salmacida, Entry 16, Entry 14 (732).
 57. The allusion is explained in Salmacida, 71-110.
 58. Margoliouth, l. 256.
 59. Patterson, Marvell and the Civic Crown, 24-5.
 60. RT, Grosart, II. 398.
 61. Cf. Milton, PL. i. 515-16, iii. 562: and the Notes thereon in Carey and Fowler.
 62. Berthoff, 42-3, noted this; cf. OED, Ib.
 63. Salmacida, 439-48.
 64. Orgel, Illusion, 49-51, discusses the development of the relationship between masque and antimasque in this period, and its use of pastoral elements. Cf. also Ronald Bayne, 'Masque and Pastoral', The Cambridge History of English Literature, ed. A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller (Cambridge, 1950), VI. 328-72.
 65. Ibid, 39-40.
 66. Ibid, 54-5, 71.
 67. Ibid, 71.
 68. An example of such poetry is Wyatt's 'The Lover Compareth his State To a Ship in Perilous Storm Tossed on the Sea'; Surrey, 'Complaint of the Absence of her Lover, being upon the Sea'. Cf. Shakespeare, Sonnet CXVI, 6.
 69. Cf. also Lord Bridgman's speech (as reported in GP, 268) on the threat of war as 'clouds' and 'storm'; also cf. Dryden's Astraea Redux, in which the political turbulence of Civil War and rebellion is conveyed in the images of wind, storm, and tempestuous seas, and where again waters symbolize the State. Halifax, 63, uses the imagery of the 'winds' of unrest, harnessed to the Ship of State motif.
 70. Beard, 4-5.
 71. As Orgel and Strong note, 71, Ship-Money was one of the

- topical issues that preoccupy the masques.
72. E.g. Berthoff, 'Voice', 47.
 73. Margoliouth, I.255.
 74. Schwenger, 368.
 75. Cf. Margoliouth, I.255. Salmacida is a fine example of such imagery, in fact.
 76. Thus Schwenger states this motif as the complete meaning of the lines, 37I.
 77. Cf. Marvell's use of the image in Bermudas, Chapter IX.iii, supra, For an account of the Sea as a metaphor for Fortune and Providence, see Williams, 'Spenser: Some Uses', 136-7. Cf. Orgel and Strong, 7I.
 78. Williams, 'Some Uses', 138.
 79. Ibid, 136; Orgel and Strong, 7If.
 80. Milton, De Doctrina, IV.449; cf. Luke xxi.25-6. Cf. Jeremy Taylor, 279: 'The thunders of the dying and groaning heavens, and the crack of the dissolving world, when the whole fabrick of nature shall shake into dissolution and eternal ashes.'
 81. Schwenger, 37I.
 82. Cf. also Herle, David's Song, 3.
 83. Cf. also Marvell's 'jarring Elements' of war and desolation in Blake (35); discussed in Chapter IX.iii, supra. Cf. Donne's First Anniversary, where 'Both Elements and Passions liv'd at peace/ In her, who caus'd all Civill war to cease' (32I-2).
 84. See OED, 2 (fig.).
 85. Last Instructions, 489-90.
 86. Cf. also Marvell's image of the cleric Parker in RT, 187, as 'a Bird of Prey' and 'certainly... an Eagle'. (The 'birds of prey' in Coy Mistress are a twist on this type of imagery, relating to the 'last age' of the poem: as I shall be discussing in an article.)
 87. Adams, Spiritual Navigator, 15. Cf. Bernard Gilpin, Antichrists of the Reformation (1552), repr. in Chandos, who says that the oppressors of the faithful poor are 'couetous cormorants' (33). And cf. note 90, below.
 88. A Medicine for Malignancy (1644), quoted in Whiting, 235.
 89. Røstvig, '"In Ordine"', 249.
 90. Cf. Sibbes, Bride, 64: where 'birds of prey' attack Christ the 'Turtle-Dove', being those Antichristian enemies who 'beare a speciall and implacable malice against Gods Church and Children', drawing the 'heart-blood' of Christianity by their usurpation of it. The idea is very similar to Marvell's, especially as Sibbes mentions also the Church 'as a ship in the midst of the waves'. Compare to the ideas in these stanzas also Nixon, Christian Navy, where in the Sea of the World the 'Rock' of pride (cf. absolutism) causes 'wrecks', and is especially dangerous to princes (A4v.-B). And on this Rock are (cf. Marvell's Cormorants) 'Most lothsome fowles that haue no other foode,/ But feede vpon the fame of euery man' (sig. C2v.): Nixon makes them images of Antichristian detractors (sig. C2v.-3). He also allegorizes a 'wofull rocke' of heresy. Cf. also Noodt, Theatre for Worldlings, Spenserian verses, Minor Poems, I. 503, where he comments upon Rev. xix. 17-18: that it is prophesied for the Latter Days that 'birdes from aire descending downe on earth/ Should warre vpon the kings, and eate their flesh.' All these uses of the motif originate, like Marvell's, in Revelation xix. 17-18, where 'all the fowls... may eat the flesh of kings,..and mighty men' at the Second Coming. Marvell uses another image from Rev. xix. later in the poem (cf. p.167, supra, and note 95, below).

**PAGE
MISSING
IN
ORIGINAL**

- For a positive version of the pelican-ministry image, see Death O.C., 80, where Cromwell outdoes 'bleeding Pelicans' by his care of the State.
91. Purchas, 'Virginia's Verger', 236: describing dissensions in the community there.
 92. Cf., e.g., Samuel Daniel's Sonnet 27, 'Th'Ocean of my teares must drowne me burning'.
 93. Margoliouth, I.48.
 94. Røstvig, '"In Ordine"', 250, noticed the pun.
 95. The climax of the image is in Revelation xix.I3, where Christ at the Coming 'was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood.' Here, too, he is a warrior, on 'a white horse' (vs.II), leading 'the armies that were in heaven' (vs. I4), with 'a sharp sword' (vs. I5). It is relevant to my remarks, here, that this Christ in His capacity as Judge: 'he [shall] smite the nations, and he shall rule them' (vs. I5). Marvell has already evoked this section of the Revelation, in stanza v; cf. note 90, supra. (and, as there, cf. Noodt, Spenser, Minor Poems, I.503: 'His precious robe I saw embrued with bloud', a verse paraphrase of this Rev. text.)
 96. Temple, 4.
 97. Cruttwell, I88-9.
 98. Milton, Eikonoklastes, Bohn edn., I.3I3.
 99. Ibid, I.3I2. There was a rumour that Marvell had helped Milton to write this tract: see Hunt, I96n.
 100. Orgel and Strong, 75.
 101. See, e.g., Cruttwell, I88.
 102. Cf. Chapter II.ii, supra.
 103. For examples of differing interpretations of the last stanza, see e.g. N.A.Salerno, 'Marvell's "The Unfortunate Lover"', Explicator I8 (I960), Item 42; and J.M.Patrick, 'Marvell's "The Unfortunate Lover"', Explicator 20 (I962), Item 65. Røstvig, '"In Ordine"', 249, concludes that 'All we can say is that the heraldic image... must be climactic and triumphant.' Colie, Ecchoing Song, II3, and Toliver, I66-7, take refuge in impressionism. Berthoff, 'Voice', 45, says that the Lover is 'dying into art'; Schwenger, 364, remarks 'the puzzling quality of this crucial summation.'
 104. This quotation was noticed by Duncan-Jones, 'A Reading', 224n., who does not elaborate.
 105. Ibid, 222, she records this occasion in relation to the poem, but comes to a different conclusion.
 106. Margoliouth, I.256.
 107. 2 Kings xxii.I.
 108. Cf. Margoliouth, I.256.
 109. Chapman, Hero and Leander, VI.287-9I; where a similar elevation is accorded to these lovers, as 'the first that ever poet sung' (293).
 110. This pendant is illustrated in the frontispiece to Christopher Hibbert's Charles I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

All books are published in London unless otherwise specified

I.SOURCES

Poetry

- Edward Benlowes, Theophila: or, Love's Sacrifice (1652)
George Chapman, Chapman's Homer, ed. Allardyce Nicholl, 2 vols. (1967)
Abraham Cowley, The Civil War, ed. Allan Pritchard (Toronto, 1973)
Richard Crashaw, The Complete Poetry, ed. G.W.Williams (New York, 1970)
Samuel Daniel, Poems & A Defence of Rhyme, ed. A.C.Sprague (Chicago, 1962)
Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy, transl. & ed. D.L.Sayers, 3 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1949)
John Donne, Complete Poetry & Selected Prose, ed. John Hayward (1930)
John Dryden, The Poems, ed. John Sargeaunt (1910)
Edward Fairfax, Godfrey of Bulloigne: a translation of Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered, ed. Henry Morley (1890)
Thomas Fairfax, Poems & Transcriptions, Bodleian MS. Fairfax 40
- 'The Poems', ed. E.Bliss Reed, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences, XIV (July, 1909), 239-89
Arthur Golding, Shakespeare's Ovid: Arthur Golding's Translation of the "Metamorphoses" (1567), ed. W.H.D.Rouse (1961)
George Herbert, The English Poems, ed. C.A.Patrides (1974)
Andrew Marvell, The Poems and Letters, ed. H.M.Margoliouth, Pierre Legouis & E.E.Duncan-Jones, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1971)
- The Latin Poetry of Andrew Marvell, ed. William A.McQueen & K.A.Rockwell (Chapel Hill, 1964)
- Miscellaneous Poems (1681), repr. in facsim. (Menston, 1973)
- The Complete Poems, ed. E.S.Donno (Harmondsworth, 1972)
- Selected Poetry, ed. Frank Kermode (1967)
- Poems, ed. James Reeves & Martin Seymour-Smith (1969)
- Selected Poems, ed. Joseph Summers, The Laurel Poetry Series (New York, 1961)
John Milton, Poetical Works, ed. Douglas Bush (1970)
- The Poems, ed. John Carey & Alastair Fowler (1968)
Anthony Nixon, The Christian Navy: Wherein is playnely described the perfit course to sayle to the Hauen of eternall happinesse (1602)
Francis Quarles, Emblemes (1696)
- Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man (1638), repr. in facsim., ed. John Horden (1975)
- Hosanna (1647) & Threnodes (1641), repr. in facsim., ed. John Horden (Liverpool, 1960)
- Schola Cordis & Hieroglyphics.... (1845)
Philip Sidney, Selected Prose & Poetry, ed. R.Kimbrough (San Francisco, 1969)

- Edmund Spenser, Poetical Works, ed. E.de Selincourt & J.C.Smith (1969)
 - The Works: A Variorum Edition, ed. E. Greenlaw, C.G.Osgood, F.M.Padelford, R. Heffner, 9 vols. (Baltimore, 1932-57)
 Henry Vaughan, The Complete Poems, ed. Alan Rudrum (Harmondsworth, 1976)
 Edmund Waller, The Poems, ed. G.Thorn Drury (New York, 1968)

Anthologies

- John Barrell & John Bull (eds.), English Pastoral Verse (London, 1974)
 Helen Gardner, ed., The Metaphysical Poets, revised edn. (Harmondsworth, 1966)
 V. de Sola Pinto & A.E.Rodway, The Common Muse (Harmondsworth, n.d.)
 G. Saintsbury (ed.), The Caroline Poets, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1905)

Drama

- Ben Jonson, The Fortunate Isles, and their Union: Celebrated in a Masque Design'd for the Court on the Twelfth Night, 1626, in Works, 6 vols. (1716), VI.54-75.
 Stephen Orgel & Roy Strong (eds.), Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1973)
 William Shakespeare, The Tempest, ed. Frank Kermode, The Arden Shakespeare (1964)

Prose

- Anon., An Honest Discourse between Three Neighbours, Touching the Present Government in these Three Nations (1655)
 Anon., A Discovery of the Great Fantasie... Together with a Discovery of the great Arch-Whore, and her Paramours or Lovers (1642), Thomason Tracts, E.124 (28)
 John Aubrey, Brief Lives, ed. Andrew Clark, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1898)
 Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning, ed. G.W.Kitchin (1915)
 - Essays, ed. M.J.Hawkins (1972)
 - New Atlantis, in Works, ed. James Spedding, R.L.Ellis & D.D.Heath, 14 vols. (1857-74), III.129-66.
 Thomas Beard, The Theatre of God's Judgements, third, rev. edn. (1631)
 Thomas Browne, Selected Writings, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (1970)
 - Pseudodoxia Epidemica, ed. Simon Wilkins, 2 vols. (1894)
 - Certain Miscellany Tracts (1684)
 John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress & The Holy War (n.d.)
 Thomas Burnet, The Sacred Theory of the Earth, ed. Basil Willey (1965)
 Charles Butler, The Feminine Monarchie: or, A Treatise Concerning Bees, and the due Ordering of them (Oxford, 1609)
 Abraham Cowley, Essays, Plays & Sundry Verses, ed. A.R.Waller (1906)
 John Daye, The Parliament of Bees... Being an allegorical description of the actions of good & bad men in these our daies (1641)
 Thomas Elyot, The Book Named the Governor, ed. S.E.Lehmberg (1962)

- John Evelyn, The History of Religion: A rational account of the true religion, 2 vols. (1850)
- Miscellaneous Writings (n.d.; probably 18th.C.)
 - Silva (n.d.)
 - Terra: A Philosophical Discourse of Earth (York, 1787)
- John Goodwin, Anti-Cavalierisme; Or, Truth Pleading As well the Necessity, as the Lawfulness of this present War... (1642)
- Halifax, Marquess of (George Savile), Complete Works, ed. J.P.Kenyon (Harmondsworth, 1969)
- Samuel Hartlib, A Description of the famous Kingdome of Macaria, shewing its excellent Government (1641)
- The Reformed Common-Wealth of Bees (1655)
 - The Reformed Husband-Man; or a Briefe Treatise of the Errors, Defects, and Inconveniences of our English Husbandry (1651)
- Henry Hawkins, Partheneia Sacra (1633), repr. in facsim. (Menston, 1971)
- Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (1973)
- Lucy Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (1908)
- Gerald de Malynes, The Commonwealth of Bees (1655)
- Andrew Marvell, Mr. Smirke, Defence of Howe, General Councils, The Growth of Popery, repr. in Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 4 vols., Fuller Worthies Library (1868-75), vol. IV.
- The Rehearsal Transpros'd, and The Rehearsal Transpros'd The Second Part, ed. D.I.B.Smith (1971)
- Mercurius Britannicus, no.89 (Mon.30th.June-Mon.7th.July 1645)
- John Milton, The Prose Works, ed. J.A.St.John et al., Bohn edn., 5 vols. (1848-53)
- Complete Prose Works, gen.ed. Don M.Wolfe, 8 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1953-)
- The Works, gen.ed. Frank A.Patterson, 20 vols. (New York, 1931-40)
- Thomas North, Plutarch's Lives... translated by Sir Thomas North, 8 vols. (Oxford, 1928)
- Samuel Purchas (the Elder), Hakluytus Posthumous: Or, Purchas His Pilgrimes, 20 vols. (Glasgow, 1905-7)
- Samuel Purchas (the Younger), A Theatre of Politicall Flying-Insects (1657)
- John Smith, The True Travels, Adventures, & Observations of Captain John Smith, repr. in Works, ed. Edward Arber, 2 vols. (1895).
- Edmund Southerne, A Treatise Concerning the Right Use and Ordering of Bees. (1593)
- Alexander Whitaker, Good Newes From Virginia (1613)
- Gerrard Winstanley, The Law of Freedom & Other Writings, ed. Christopher Hill (Harmondsworth, 1973)
- Selections from the Works, ed. L.D.Hamilton (1944)
- A.S.P.Woodhouse (ed.), Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates from the Clarke Manuscripts with supplementary documents (1938)

Sermons & Commentaries

- Thomas Adams, The Blacke Devill... The Wolfe worrying the Lambes and The Spiritual Navigator Bound for the Holy Land (1615)
- Heaven-Gate; or, The Passage to Paradise, repr. in Works, Nichol's Series of Standard Divines, Puritan Period (Edinburgh, 1862), III. 74-84.

- Richard Bernard, A Key of Knowledge... of St. John's mysticall Revelation (1617)
- Christopher Blackwood, Expositions and Sermons upon... Matthew (1659)
- Thomas Brightman, A Revelation of the Revelation (1615)
- A Commentary on the Canticles (Amsterdam, 1644)
- G. Brocardo, The Reuelation of S. Iohn Reueled (1582)
- Hugh Broughton, A Revelation of the Holy Apocalyps (1610)
- Jeremiah Burroughs, Four Books on the Eleventh of Matthew (1658)
- Henry Burton, The Seven Vials; Or, a briefe and plaine Exposition.... (1628)
- John Chandos (ed.), In God's Name: Examples of Preaching in England 1534-1662 (1971)
- Francis Cheynell, Sion's Memento, and God's Alarum (1643), repr. in facsim. in The English Revolution, I: Fast Sermons to Parliament, ed. R. Jeffs, 34 vols. (1970-71), vol. VI.
- William Day, An Exposition of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah (1654)
- Patrick Forbes, An Exquisite Commentarie vpon the Reuelation of Saint Iohn (1613)
- Thomas Goodwin, Works, 12 vols., Nichol's Series of Standard Divines, Puritan Period (Edinburgh, 1861-6)
- William Greenhill, The Axe at the Root (1643), repr. in facsim., Fast Sermons, vol. VI.
- Matthew Henry, Commentary: Acts to Revelation, ed. D. Winter (1975)
- Commentary: The Four Gospels, ed. D. Winter (1974)
- Charles Herle, David's Song of Three Parts (1643), repr. in facsim., Fast Sermons, vol. VI.
- Stephen Marshall, Reformation and Desolation: Or, a Sermon tending to the Discovery of the Symptomes of a People to whom God will by no meanes be reconciled (1642), repr. in facsim., Fast Sermons, vol. II.
- The Song of Moses... and the Song of the Lambe (1643), repr. in facsim., Fast Sermons, vol. VI.
- Thomas Mason, A Reuelation of the Reuelation (1619)
- John Mayer, Ecclesiastica Interpretatio (1627)
- Joseph Mede, The Key of the Revelation (Clavis Apocalyptica) (1643)
- John Napier, Napier's Narration (1641)
- Matthew Newcomen, A Sermon tending to set forth the right use of the Disasters that befall our Armies (1644)
- John Owen, The Advantages of the Kingdom of Christ (1651)
- The Shaking and Translating of Heaven and Earth (1649)
- Obadiah Sedgwick, Haman's Vanity (1643), repr. in facsim., Fast Sermons, vol. VI.
- Richard Sibbes, Light from Heaven... in Four Treatises (1638)
- The Brides Longing for her Bride-groomes second Comming... (1638)
- Peter Sterry, The Clouds in which Christ Comes (1647)
- William Symonds, Virginia (1609)
- Jeremy Taylor, The Golden Grove: Selected Passages from the Sermons and Writings, ed. L. Pearsall Smith (Oxford, 1930)

- Thomas Temple, Christ's Government in and over his People (I642), repr. in facsim., Fast Sermons, vol.IV.
 John Wilkins, A Discourse Concerning the Beauty of Providence in all the rugged passages of it (I649)

Theology

- Peter Abelard, The Letters of Abelard and Heloise, transl. Betty Radice (Harmondsworth, 1974)
 St. Augustine, The City of God, ed. and transl. D.Knowles & H.Bettenson (Harmondsworth, 1972)
 - The Confessions, transl. E.B.Pusey (1907)
 - Letters, transl. Sister Wilfrid Parsons, 5 vols., Fathers of the Church (New York, 1951-5)
 - Selected Letters, Loeb edn. (1953)
 St. Bernard, A Rule of Good Life (I633), repr. in facsim. (Menston, 1971)
 Henry Bettenson (ed.), The Early Christian Fathers (Oxford, 1969)
 Bible: Authorized Version (I611) (Oxford, n.d.)
 - Geneva Bible (I560), repr. in facsim. (1969)
 - Geneva Bible (I599)
 - Vulgate Bible (poss. Cologne; 1638)
 - Apocrypha (Cambridge, n.d.)
 - The Apocryphal New Testament, transl. and ed. M.R.James (1975)
 P.E.More & F.L.Cross (eds.), Anglicanism: The Thought and Practice of the Church of England, illustrated from the religious literature of the Seventeenth Century (1957)

Classical Texts

- Hesiod, Hesiod and Theognis, transl. D.Wender (Harmondsworth, 1976)
 Horace, Odes and Epodes, Loeb edn. (1914)
 Lactantius, The Divine Institutes I-VII, transl. Sister M.F. McDonald, Fathers of the Church (Washington, 1964)
 Lucianus, Verae Historiae, in Works, Loeb edn. (1913), Vol.I.
 Ovid, Metamorphoses, Loeb edn. (1916, 1921)
 Plato, The Republic, transl. D.Lee (Harmondsworth, 1974)
 Pliny, Naturalis Historia, Loeb edn. (1942-9)
 Sallust, Bellum Catilinae, Loeb edn. (1931)
 Suetonius, Works, Loeb edn. (1913)
 Varro, De Lingua Latina, Loeb edn. (1938)
 Virgil, Opera (Oxford, 1969)

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

History

- Maurice Ashley, Oliver Cromwell and His World (1972)
 - The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell (1958)
 G.E.Aylmer (ed.), The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement 1646-1660 (1974)
 MA.Breslow, A Mirror of England: English Puritan Views of Foreign Nations, 1618-1640 (Camb., Mass., 1970)
 George Clark, The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714 (Oxford, 1956)
 Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (1957)
 Claire Cross, 'The State & Development of Protestantism in English Towns 1520-1603', Church History (forthcoming)
 Godfrey Davies, The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660 (Oxford, 1959)
 Nell P.Eurich, Science in Utopia: A Mighty Design (Camb., Mass., 1967)

- Jane F.Gardner, Leadership and the Cult of the Personality (1974)
- K.H.D.Haley, William of Orange and the English Opposition, 1672-4 (Oxford, 1953)
- Christopher Hibbert, Charles I (1968)
- Christopher Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England (1971)
- 'The Diary of John Evelyn', History 42 (1957), 12-18.
 - God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution (Harmondsworth, 1972)
 - Puritanism and Revolution (1969)
 - Milton and the English Revolution (1979)
 - The World Turned Upside Down (Harmondsworth, 1975)
- J.R.Jones (ed.), The Restored Monarchy, 1660-1688 (1979)
- J.P.Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution (Cambridge, 1966)
- The Stuarts: A Study in Kingship (1958)
- C.R.Kropf, 'Libel and Satire in the Eighteenth Century', Eighteenth-century Studies, VIII.2 (1974-5), 153-68.
- William M.Lamont, Godly Rule: Politics and Religion 1603-1660 (1969)
- William M.Lamont and Sybil Oldfield, Politics, Religion, and Literature in the Seventeenth Century (1975)
- Georgina Masson, Queen Christina (1974)
- Edward Miller, Portrait of a College: A History of the College of Saint John the Evangelist, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1961)
- Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Camb., Mass., 1954)
- Iain H.Murray, The Puritan Hope (1971)
- Howard Shaw, The Levellers (1968)
- R.H.Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (Harmondsworth, 1973)
- Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (Harmondsworth, 1973)
- H.R.Trevor-Roper, 'The Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament', Essays in British History, ed. H.R.Trevor-Roper, (1965), 85-138.
- 'Witches and Witchcraft', Encounter (May, 1967)
- Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics (1966)
- C.V.Wedgwood, The Trial of Charles I (1967)
- John F.Wilson, Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism during the English Civil War 1640-48 (Princeton, N.J., 1969)
- Louis B.Wright, Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion 1558-1625 (Chapel Hill, 1943)

History of Ideas & Belief

- Bryan W.Ball, A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660 (Leiden, 1975)
- T.R.Boase, Death in the Middle Ages (1972)
- A.B.Chambers, '"I was but an Inverted Tree": Notes toward the History of an Idea', Studies in the Renaissance 8 (1961), 291-9
- Domenico Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages, transl. E.F.M. Benecke (1966)
- C.H. & K.George, The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation 1570-1640 (Princeton, 1961)
- S.K.Heninger, Jr., Touches of Sweet Harmony (San Marino, Calif., 1974)
- E.L.Mascall, & H.S.Box, The Blessed Virgin Mary (1963)
- A.L.Morton, The English Utopia (1978)

- Stephen Orgel, The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance (Berkeley & London, 1975)
- C.A. Patrides, The Grand Design of God: The Literary Form of the Christian View of History (1972)
- (ed.) Aspects of Time (Manchester, 1976)
- Marjorie Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1969)
- Conrad Russell (ed.), Origins of the English Civil War (1973)
- Lawrence A. Sasek, The Literary Temper of the English Puritans (New York, 1961)
- Edith Simon, The Saints (Harmondsworth, 1972)
- Alan Simpson, Puritanism in Old and New England (Chicago, 1961)
- Humphrey Tonkin, 'Utopias: Notes on a Pattern of Thought', The Centennial Review. 14 (1970), 385-95
- Peter Toon (ed.), Puritans, the Millennium, and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600-1660 (Cambridge, 1970)
- E.L. Tuveson, Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress (New York & London, 1964)
- Josephine Waters-Bennett, 'Britain among the Fortunate Isles', SP 53 (1956), 114-40.
- Owen C. Watkins, The Puritan Experience (1972)
- Charles Webster, The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626-1660 (1975)
- William H. Werkmeister (ed.), Facets of the Renaissance (New York, Evanston, & London, 1963)
- G.W. Whiting, Milton's Literary Milieu (New York, 1964)
- Basil Willey, The Seventeenth-Century Background (Harmondsworth, 1962)
- Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (1968)
- Frances A. Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (Harmondsworth, 1977)

Art

- John Block Friedman, 'Antichrist and the Iconography of Dante's Geryon', JWCI 35 (1972), 108-122
- Walter S. Gibson, Hieronymus Bosch (1973)
- M.R. James, The Apocalypse in Art (1931)
- C.M. Kauffmann, An Altar-piece of the Apocalypse (1968)
- Mirelli Levi D'Ancona, The Garden of the Renaissance: Botanical Symbolism in Italian Painting (Florence, 1977)
- Erwin Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts (Harmondsworth, 1970)
- Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (New York & London, 1972)
- John Pope-Hennessy, A Sienese Codex of the Divine Comedy (Oxford, 1947)
- Cesare Ripa, Iconologia, repr. as Baroque & Rococo Pictorial Imagery, ed. E.A. Maser (New York, 1971)
- Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art (New York, 1961)
- Arnold Whittick, Symbols: Signs and their Meaning and Uses in Design (1971)
- Heinrich Wölfflin, The Art of Albrecht Dürer, transl. A. & H. Grieve (1971)
- and
Richard Cavendish, Visions of Heaven and Hell (1977)

Criticism & Scholarship

- Don Cameron Allen, Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry (Baltimore, 1960)
- 'Symbolic Color in the Literature of the English Renaissance', PQ 15 (1936), 81-92
 - 'Love in a Grave', MLN 74 (1959), 485-6
- M.E.Allentuck, 'Marvell's "Pool of Air"', MLN 74 (1959), 587-9
- Raymond A.Anselment, '"Betwixt Jest and Earnest": Ironic reversal in Andrew Marvell's "The Rehearsal Transpros'd"', MLN 66 (1971), 282-93
- 'Satiric Strategy in Marvell's "The Rehearsal Transpros'd"', MP 68 (1970-71), 137-50
- W.H.Bagguley (ed.), Andrew Marvell, 1621-78: Tercentenary Tributes (1922)
- Carl E.Bain, 'The Latin Poetry of Andrew Marvell', PQ 38 (1959), 436-49
- Edwin B.Benjamin, 'Marvell's "Bermudas"', CEA Critic 29 (1967), 10, 12; reply to Parish, 30 (1967), 10
- Anne E.Berthoff, The Resolved Soul: A Study of Marvell's Major Poems (Princeton, N.J., 1970)
- 'The Voice of Allegory: Marvell's "The Unfortunate Lover"', MLQ 27 (1966), 41-50
- R.J.Blanch, 'Precious Metal and Gem Symbolism in "Pearl"', Lock Haven Review 7 (1965), 1-12
- Francis C.Blessington, "Paradise Lost" and the Classical Epic (1979)
- F.W.Bradbrook, 'The Poetry of Marvell', The Pelican Guide to English Literature, ed. Boris Ford, vol.3 (Harmondsworth, 1956)
- (Harmondsworth, 1956)
- M.C.Bradbrook & M.G.Lloyd-Thomas, Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1961)
- M.C.Bradbrook, 'Marvell and the Poetry of Rural Solitude', RES XVII, 65 (1941), 37-46
- R.L.Brett (ed.), Andrew Marvell: Essays on the Tercentenary of his Death (Oxford, 1979)
- C.F.Buhler, 'A Letter by Marvell', N&Q (II Oct.1952), 451
- P.H.Burdon, 'Andrew Marvell and Richard Flecknoe in Rome', N&Q 19 (Jan.1972), 16-18
- Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660 (Oxford, 1945)
- James F.Carens, 'Andrew Marvell's Cromwell Poems', BuR 7 (1957), 41-70
- John Carey (ed.), Andrew Marvell: A Critical Anthology (Harmondsworth, 1969)
- Margaret Carpenter, 'From Herbert to Marvell: Poetics in "A Wreath" and "The Coronet"', JEGP 69 (1970), 50-62
- J.J.Carroll, 'The Sun and the Lovers in "To His Coy Mistress"', MLN 74 (1959), 4-7
- A.M.Cinquemani, 'Marvell's "The Mower Against Gardens"', Explicator 20 (1961), Item 77
- Rosalie L.Colie, "My Ecchoing Song": Marvell's Poetry of Criticism (Princeton, N.J., 1970)
- 'Marvell's "Bermudas" and the Puritan Paradise', Renaissance News 10 (1957), 75-9
- N.E.Collinge, The Structure of Horace's Odes (1961)
- J.S.Coolidge, 'Marvell and Horace', MP 63 (1965), III-120
- J.M.Corder, 'Marvell and Nature', N&Q n.s. 6 (1959), 58-61
- Patrick Cruttwell, The Shakespearean Moment and its place in the poetry of the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1960)

- Patrick Cullen, 'Imitation and Metamorphosis: The Golden-Age Eclogue in Spenser, Milton, and Marvell', PMLA LXXXIV (1969), 1559-70
- R.M.Cummings, 'The Difficulty of Marvell's "Bermudas"', MP 67 (1970), 331-40
- Robert Daniel, 'Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress"', Explicator 1.5 (1943), Item 37
- Kitty Scoular (Datta), Natural Magic: Studies in the Presentation of Nature in English Poetry from Spenser to Marvell (Oxford, 1965)
- 'Marvell's Prose and Poetry: More Notes', MP 63 (1965-6), 319-21
 - 'Marvell and Wotton: A Reconsideration', RES n.s. 19 (1968), 403-5
- L.A.Davies, 'An Unpublished Poem about Andrew Marvell', YES 1 (1971), 100-101
- Dennis Davison, The Poetry of Andrew Marvell (1964)
- 'Marvell and Politics', N&Q n.s. III.5 (1955), 201-2
 - 'Notes on Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress"', N&Q (December, 1958), 521
- R.A.Day, 'Marvell's "Glew"', PQ 32 (1953), 344-6
- Austin C.Dobbins, Milton and the Book of Revelation (Alabama, 1975)
- E.S.Donno (ed.), Andrew Marvell: The Critical Heritage (1978)
- E.E.Duncan-Jones, 'The erect sword in Marvell's "Horatian Ode"', EA 15 (1962), 172-4
- 'The date of Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress"', TLS (Dec.5 1958), 705
 - 'Benlowes, Marvell, and the Divine Casimire: A Note', HLQ 20 (1957), 183-4
 - 'Marvell His own Critic', N&Q (Sept.1956), 383-4
 - 'Marvell: A Great Master of Words', Proceedings of the British Academy LXI (1975), 267-90
 - 'A Reading of Marvell's "The Unfortunate Lover"', I.A.Richards: Essays in His Honour, ed. Reuben Brower, Helen Vendler & John Hollander (New York, 1973), 213-26
- T.S.Eliot, Selected Essays. (1951)
- William Empson, Some Versions of Pastoral (Harmondsworth, 1966)
- Barbara Everett, 'Marvell's "The Mower's Song"', CQ IV (1962), 219-24
- David Evett, '"Paradise's Only Map": The Topos of the Locus Amoenus and the Structure of Marvell's "Upon Appleton House"', PMLA LXXXV (1970), 504-13
- Tay Fitzdale, 'Irony in Marvell's "Bermudas"', ELH 42 (1975), 203-213
- Michael Fixler, Milton and the Kingdoms of God (1964)
- J.Milton French, 'Notes on two Puritan Poets, Marvell and Wither', N&Q (16 Apr.1938), 273-4
- Kenneth Friedenreich (ed.), Tercentenary Essays in Honor of Andrew Marvell (Hamden, Conn., 1977)
- Donald M.Friedman, Marvell's Pastoral Art (1970)
- R.M.Frye, Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts: Iconographic Tradition in the Epic Poems (Princeton, N.J., 1978)
- Joseph A.Galdon, Typology and Seventeenth-century Literature (The Hague, 1975)
- Allan H.Gilbert, The Symbolic Persons in the Masques of Ben Jonson (New York, 1969)
- W.L.Godshalk, 'Marvell's "The Mower to the Glo-worms"', Explicator (October 1966), Item 12
- Frederick L.Gwynn, 'Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress", 33-46', Explicator (May 1953), Item 49

- John E.Hankins, 'Spenser and the Revelation of St.John',
PMLA LX (1945), 364-81
- Davis P.Harding, The Club of Hercules: Studies in the
Classical Background of "Paradise Lost"
(Urbana, 1962)
- Milton and the Renaissance Ovid (Urbana, 1946)
- G.R.Hibbard, 'The Country-House Poem of the Seventeenth Century',
JWCI XIX (1956), 159-74
- R.I.V.Hodge, Foreshortened Time: Andrew Marvell and Seventeenth-
century Revolutions (Cambridge, 1978)
- K.J.Höltgen, 'Floral Horologues prior to Marvell's Garden',
N&Q n.s. 16.10 (1969), 381-2
- R.G.Howarth, 'Marvell: An Emendation', N&Q (Aug.1953), 330
- John Dixon Hunt, Andrew Marvell: His Life and Writings (1978)
- L.W.Hyman, Andrew Marvell (New York, 1964)
- 'Marvell's "Coy Mistress" and Desperate Lover',
MLN 75 (1960), 8-10
 - 'Politics and Poetry in Andrew Marvell', PMLA
LXXIII (1958), 475-9
- Toshihiko Kawasaki, 'Marvell's "Bermudas" - A Little World,
or a New World?', ELH 43 (1976), 38-52
- William R.Keast, Seventeenth-century English Poetry: Modern
Essays in Criticism (1971)
- Don A.Keister, 'Marvell's "The Garden"', Explicator 10.4 (1952),
Item 24
- W.Hilton Kelliher, 'Marvell's "A Letter to Dr.Ingelo"', RES
n.s. 20 (1969), 50-57
- 'A New Text of Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress"',
N&Q 17 (1970), 254-6
- Frank Kermode, Renaissance Essays (1973)
- 'A Note on Marvell', N&Q (May 1952), 218
 - 'Two Notes on Marvell', N&Q (March 1952), 136-8
 - The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory
of Fiction (1967)
- A.H.King, 'Some Notes on Andrew Marvell's "Garden"', ES 20
(1938), 118-21
- Bruce King, Marvell's Allegorical Poetry (New York & Cambridge,
1977)
- 'In Search of Andrew Marvell', REL 8 (1967),
31-41
 - '"The Mower Against Gardens" and the Levellers',
HLQ 33 (1970), 237-42
- L.C.Knights, Public Voices: Literature and Politics, with
special reference to the Seventeenth Century
(London, 1971)
- John R.Knott, Jr., Milton's Pastoral Vision: An Approach to
"Paradise Lost" (Chicago, 1971)
- V.A.Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (1966)
- F.R.Leavis, Revaluation (1936)
- Pierre Legouis, Andrew Marvell: Poet, Puritan, Patriot (Oxford,
1968)
- 'Marvell's "Little T.C. in a Prospect of
Flowers", an "Eclogue of the Golden Age"?',
PMLA LXXXVI (1971), 275-7
 - 'Marvell's Grasshoppers', N&Q n.s. 5.3 (1958),
108-9
 - 'Marvell and "the two learned brothers of St.
Marthe"', PQ 38 (1959), 450-58
 - 'Marvell and the New Critics', RES n.s. 8.32
(1957), 382-9
 - 'Marvell's Maniban', RES 2.7 (1926), 328-35
- J.B.Leishman, The Art of Marvell's Poetry (1966)

- Henry F. Lippincott, Jr., 'Marvell's "On Paradise Lost"', ELN (June 1972), 265-72
- George de F. Lord (ed.), Andrew Marvell: A Collection of Critical Essays (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968)
- Isabel G. MacCaffrey, 'Some Notes on Marvell's Poetry, Suggested by a Reading of his Prose', MP 61 (1964), 261-9
- H.M. Margoliouth, 'Notes on Marvell', N&Q (May 1953), 220
- Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation (New Haven, 1962)
- J.A. Mazzeo, 'Cromwell as Machiavellian Prince in Marvell's "An Horatian Ode"', JHI 20.1 (1960), 1-17
- 'Cromwell as Davidic King', Reason and Imagination, ed. J.A. Mazzeo (1962), 29-55
- John McChesney, 'Marvell's "the Garden"', Explicator 10.1 (1951), Item 4.
- John C. Meagher, Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques (1966)
- Earl Miner (ed.), Illustrious Evidence: Approaches to English Literature of the Early Seventeenth Century (1975)
- 'The "Poetic Picture, Painted Poetry" of "The Last Instructions to a Painter"', MP 63 (1965-6), 288-94
- C. Mitchell, 'Marvell's "The Mower to the Glow-worms"', Explicator (May 1960), Item 50
- Joseph J. Moldenhauer, 'The Voices of Seduction in "To His Coy Mistress": A Rhetorical Analysis', Texas Studies in Literature and Language 10 (1968), 189-206
- Charles Molesworth, 'Property and Virtue: The Genre of the Country-House Poem in the Seventeenth Century', Genre 1 (1968), 141-57
- 'Marvell's "Upon Appleton House": The Persona as Historian, Philosopher, and Priest', SEL 13 (1973), 149-62
- Kenneth Muir, 'A Virgilian Echo in Marvell', N&Q 196 (1951), 115
- Ruth Nevo, The Dial of Virtue (Princeton, 1963)
- R.G.M. Nisbet & Margaret Hubbard, A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I (Oxford, 1970)
- Paul Morris Nixon, 'Studies in Chaucer's Colour Vocabulary', M.Phil. thesis, York 1977
- W.R. Orwen, 'Marvell's Bergamot', N&Q (Aug. 1955), 340-41
- 'Marvell's "The Garden"', N&Q (Dec. 1946), 247-9
- 'Marvell's "Narrow Case"', N&Q n.s. 2 (1955), 201
- John E. Parish, 'Back to the "Bermudas"', CEA Critic 30 (1967), 10.
- J.M. Patrick, 'Marvell's "The Unfortunate Lover"', Explicator 20 (April 1962), Item 65
- C.A. Patrides (ed.), Approaches to Marvell: The York Tercentenary Lectures (1978)
- Annabel Patterson, Marvell and the Civic Crown (Princeton, N.J., 1978)
- '"Bermudas" and "The Coronet": Marvell's Protestant Poetics', ELH 44 (1977), 478-99
- M.R. Pitman, 'Andrew Marvell and Sir Henry Wotton', RES n.s. XIII (1962), 157-8
- L. Proudfoot, 'Marvell: Sallust and the Horatian Ode', N&Q 196 (29 Sept. 1951), 434
- Michael C.J. Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art: Studies in the Eclogues (Princeton, N.J., 1970)
- M.F.E. Rainbow, 'Marvell and Nature', DUJ 37 (1945), 22-7
- E.K. Rand, 'Milton in Rustication', SP 19 (1922), 109-135

- Christine Rees, 'The Metamorphosis of Daphne in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century English Poetry', MLR 66 (1971), 251-63
- Caroline Robbins, 'A Note on a Hitherto Unprinted Speech by Andrew Marvell', MLR 31 (1936), 549-50
- Philip Rollinson, 'The Traditional Contexts of Milton's "Two-Handed Engine"', ELN 9 (1971-2), 28-35
- John D. Rosenberg, 'Marvell and the Christian Idiom', Boston University Studies in English, 4 (1960), 152-61
- Maren-Sophie Røstvig, The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphosis of a Classical Ideal, 1600-1700, 2 vols. (Oslo, 1962)
- 'Benlowes, Marvell, and the Divine Casimire', HLQ 18 (1954), 13-35
 - '"Upon Appleton House" and the Universal History of Man', ES 42 (1961), 337-51
- Frederick H. Roth, Jr., 'Marvell's "Upon Appleton House": A Study in Perspective', Texas Studies in Literature Literature and Language XIV.2 (1972), 269-81
- N.A. Salerno, 'Marvell's "The Unfortunate Lover", VIII', Explicator 18 (1960), Item 42
- 'Andrew Marvell and the Grafters Art', EA 21 (1968), 125-32
- Lawrence A. Sasek, 'Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress"', Explicator 14 (April 1956), Item 47
- Dean Morgan Schmitter, 'The Occasion for Marvell's "Growth of Popery"', JHI XXI (1960), 568-70
- Howard Schulz, 'Christ and Antichrist in "Paradise Regained"', PMLA LXVII, 790-808 (1952)
- Peter T. Schwenger, 'Marvell's "Unfortunate Lover" as Device', MLQ 35 (1974), 364-75
- W.A. Sedelow, Jr., 'Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress"', MLN 71 (1956), 6-8
- Roger Sharrock, 'The date of Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress"', TLS (31 Oct. 1958), 625; TLS (16 Jan. 1959), 33
- William Simeone, 'A Probable Antecedent of Marvell's "Horatian Ode"', N&Q 197 (1952), 316-18
- J.L. Simmons, 'Marvell's "The Picture of Little T.C. in a Prospect of Flowers"', Explicator 22 (1964), Item 62
- Donal Smith, 'The Political Beliefs of Andrew Marvell', UTQ 36 (1966-7), 55-67
- 'Marvell', English Poetry: Select Bibliographical Bibliographical Guides, ed. A.E. Dyson (1971), 96-110
- Barabara Herrnstein Smith, Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End (Chicago & London, 1968)
- J. Solomon, 'A Reading of Marvell's "Garden"', English Studies in Africa, II.2 (1968), 151-60
- Leo Spitzer, 'Marvell's "Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Faun": Sources versus Meaning', MLQ 19 (1958), 231-43
- DeWitt T. Starnes & E.W. Talbert, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries (Chapel Hill, 1955)
- Stanley Stewart, The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth-century Poetry (Milwaukee and London, 1966)
- Claude J. Summers, 'The Frightened Architects of Marvell's Horatian Ode', Seventeenth-Century News 28 (1970), 4

- Joseph Summers, The Heirs of Donne and Jonson (1970)
- Gillian Szanto, 'Recent Studies in Marvell', ELR 5 (1975), 273-86
- E.M.W.Tillyard, The Metaphysicals and Milton (1956)
- Harold E.Toliver, Marvell's Ironic Vision (New Haven & London, 1965)
- Rosemond Tuve, Images and Themes in Five Poems by Milton (Camb., Mass., 1957)
- 'Spenser and Some Pictorial Conventions', SP 37 (1940), 149-76
- L.N.Wall, 'A Note on Marvell's Letters', N&Q n.s. 5.3 (1958), III
- 'Thomas Randolph and Marvell's "Coy Mistress"', N&Q n.s. 15 (1968), 103
- John M.Wallace, Destiny His Choice: The Loyalism of Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1968)
- 'Marvell's "lusty Mate" and the Ship of the Commonwealth', MLN 76 (1961), 106-110
- Ruth Wallerstein, Studies in Seventeenth-century Poetic (Madison, Wis., 1950)
- Geoffrey Walton, 'The Poetry of Andrew Marvell: A Summing Up', Politics and Letters, 4 (1948), 22-35
- Frank J.Warnke, 'Play and Metamorphosis in Marvell's Poetry', SEL 5 (1965), 23-30
- Josephine Waters-Bennett, The Evolution of the "Faerie Queene" (New York, 1960)
- R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, Lucifer and Prometheus: A Study of Milton's Satan (1973)
- Michael West, 'The Internal Dialogue of Shakespeare's Sonnet 146', SQ 25 (1974), 109-123
- John Wheatcroft, 'Andrew Marvell and the Winged Chariot', BuR 6 (1956), 22-53
- Robert Wilcher, 'Details from the Natural Histories in Marvell's Poetry', N&Q n.s. 15 (1968), 101-2
- Michael Wilding (ed.), Marvell: Modern Judgements (1969)
- Review of George de F.Lord (ed.), Andrew Marvell: Complete Poetry (New York, 1968), MLR 66 (1971), 664-5
- Kathleen Williams, 'Spenser: Some Uses of the Sea and the Storm-tossed Ship', Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama, XIII-IV (1970-71), 135-42
- A.J.N.Wilson, 'Andrew Marvell: "An Horatian Ode...": The Thread of the Poem and Its Use of Classical Allusion', CQ II (1969), 325-41
- R.Wilson, 'Marvell's Denton', TLS (26 Nov.1971), 1481; replies by John Newman (28 Jan.1972), 99; A.A.Tait, (11 Feb.1972), 157; James Turner (31 Mar.1972), 367.
- J.B.Winterton, 'Some Notes on Marvell's "Bermudas"', N&Q n.s. 15 (1968), 102
- Joseph A.Wittreich, Jr., Visionary Poetics: Milton's Tradition and His Legacy (San Marino, Calif., 1979)

Reviews

- J.P.Kenyon, 'Marvell and His Critics', TLS (17 Nov.1978), 1341-2
- Blair Worden, 'The Evidence of Poetry', TLS (21 July 1978), 821

Catalogues, Handlist, Concordance

- George R.Guffey (ed.), A Concordance to the English Poems of Andrew Marvell (Chapel Hill, 1974)
- Handlist of an Exhibition in York Minster Library mounted to commemorate the threehundredth anniversary of

[Andrew Marvell's] death (York, 1978)
 W.Hilton Kelliher, Andrew Marvell: Poet and Politician, 1621-78 (Catalogue to the British Library exhibition to celebrate Marvell's Tercentenary, 1978)

Addenda

Christopher Hill, 'Andrew Marvell and the Good Old Cause',
Mainstream 12 (1959), 1-27

- Milton and the English Revolution (1979)

Anthony Trollope, The West Indies and The Spanish Main (1968)